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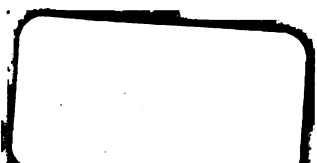
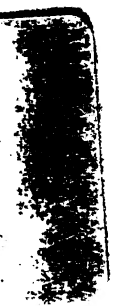
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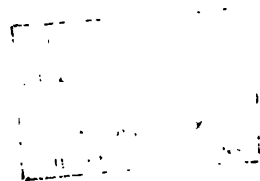
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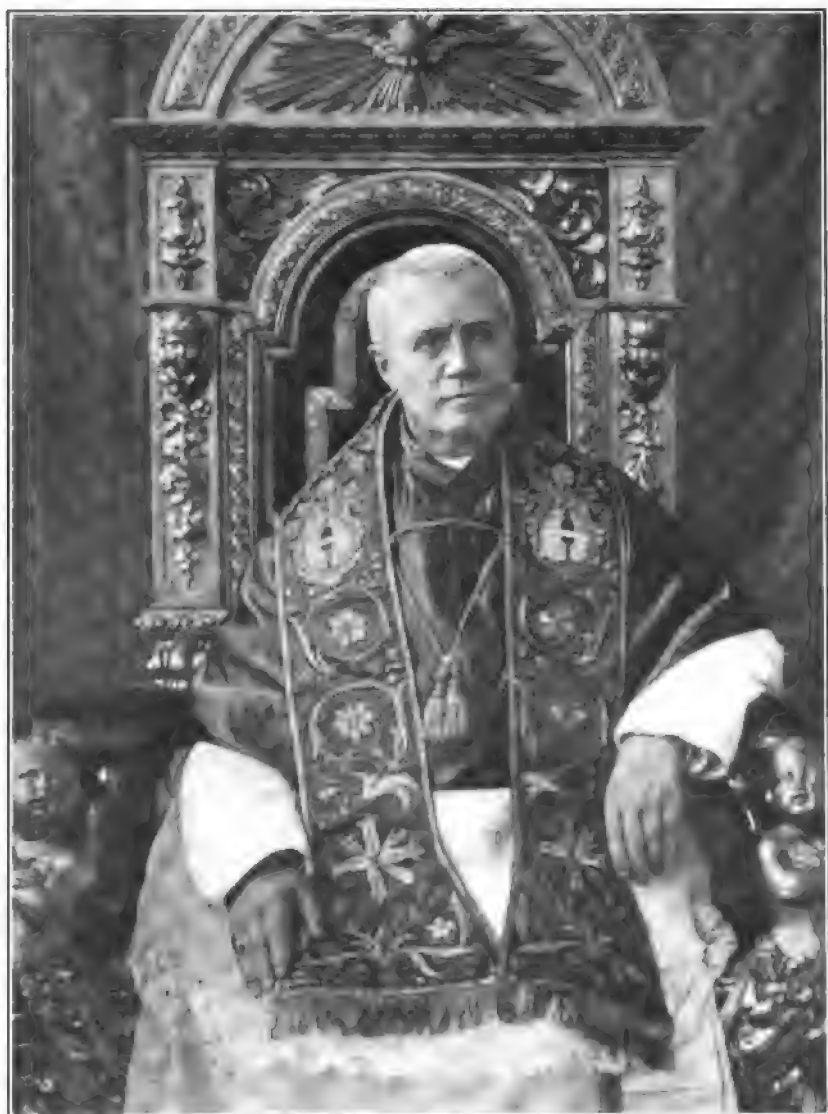
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POPE PIUS X

Our Own Times

A CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

EDITED BY

HAZLITT ALVA CUPPY

AND A BOARD OF SPECIAL EDITORS

VOLUME III

BY

ELIZABETH O. CUPPY

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CHAPTER I

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

American leadership in the race for industrial supremacy was practically conceded in 1903 by the changed attitude of the Powers. Grumbling resentment against the American invasion had given way to thoughtful inquiry into the reasons for our phenomenal growth, as in the investigations of the Mosely Commission; to a tendency to consider our methods worthy of imitation, as in the revised Russian tariff and the Chamberlain propaganda of protectionist principles; to organized effort towards checking the American advance, as in the formation of the Central Economic Union by the allied trade interests of the Continent. Europe apparently had awakened to the fact that the increased efficiency and productivity of the United States meant a solid and lasting gain, not a mere temporary advantage. The Powers seemed to realize that the American people, through a century's struggle with a new soil, had so developed its great resources that a foreign outlet for its surplus products was inevitable.

Why America is Beating England

Why America is beating England, was the problem that the Mosely Commission set out to solve. Mr. Alfred Mosely, who undertook the investigation, was in some respects almost as remarkable a man as Cecil Rhodes. The careers of the two men, as well as their ambitions for England, run parallel for short distances. As a pioneer in the diamond fields of South Africa, Mr. Mosely accumulated a fortune which he afterward devoted largely to schemes for the industrial betterment of England. Being convinced that America as a manufacturing country was forging ahead at a pace hardly appreciated by the British employer or the British workman, Mr. Mosely invited twenty-three secretaries of the Trade Unions, representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom, to accompany him at his

expense, on a tour of investigation through America. The conclusions issued in the commission's report published in May, startled a good many people. They were to the effect that the American workman is a better educated, better housed, better fed, better clothed, and more energetic man than his British brother and infinitely more sober; in consequence of using his brains as well as his hands he is also more capable.

All the members of the Commission spoke with one voice as to the superiority of the American educational system to that which exists in Great Britain. Mr. Flynn of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors said: "With us the poverty of parents means compulsory ignorance of the children. In America poverty of the father is another reason why his children should receive the best education the nation can give; so thoroughly is this conviction part and parcel of American life that I have heard employers express their extreme reluctance to employ any one under eighteen in their work."

Many of the commissioners held that the British employer has more to learn from America than has the British workman. One of them noted that "while the American employer adopts all the latest in machinery his British competitor works his obsolete machines until the output is almost nothing and then blames his workmen. Another reported: "The American manufacturer has vim and something of the gambler in him. He is thirsty for new ideas, he is daring. Where the Englishman would think, hesitate, and calculate, the American will plunge at a venture. He can see further ahead than the Englishman." Mr. Mosely owned that he had been forcibly impressed by the methods of production. The chief reason given by him why America is bounding ahead as an industrial nation was not excellence of workmanship, but ability in administration, in control, in being adaptable to the necessities of the day.

The National Thirst for Power

M. Leroy Beaulieu, the eminent French economist, attributed the American advance to the national thirst for power. "Americans in industry," he declared, "have an ambition which resembles that of the conquerors of the middle ages, or of the beginning of the present era. They are repeating the aims and the achievements of

the Hun and Tartar conquerors who overran the world; of the Spaniards and Portuguese when the Pope formally divided the world between them; of the Elizabethan Englishmen. Every great American banker or manufacturer dreams of becoming in his sphere a sort of Napoleon, having only subordinates and no rivals. They wish world wide renown, and a power unrivalled in their sphere."

Prosperity's Sudden Check

Conditions in the industrial and commercial life of the United States curiously illustrated both the points of the Mosely report and the main contention of the French economist's address. The expansion of popular education among the American masses, the sound judgment of the average man of business, proved a sustaining and steadying force in the financial upheaval caused mainly by the abuse of "unrivalled power" on the part of a few high financiers. Unprecedented prosperity undoubtedly met a considerable check in 1903. The new year opened, as the old year had closed, soberly and with such a marked tendency toward decline that the panic prognosticators were loud in their prophesies of hard times. On the other hand, the more confident boasted that reaction was quite out of the question. In the old days, they argued, hard times attributed to over-production were really due to ignorance, to unwise uses of capital and to the imperfect organization of credit. We are older now, they asserted, we know better how to control the instruments of production, to discourage wild speculation, to keep a normal relation between supply and demand.

It was not the first time, however, that this cause of financial panics had been voiced. "All the perplexities, confusions, and distresses in America," wrote John Adams to Thomas Jefferson in 1787, "arise not from defects in constitution or federation, not from want of honor or virtue, but from downright ignorance of the nature of coin, credit, and circulation." Nearly half a century ago, Walter Bagehot writing of the causes for commercial crises and industrial depressions said: "Aristotle, who was not in trade, imagined that money is barren; and barren it is to quiet ladies, rural clergymen, and country misers. But one thing is certain—that at particular times a great many stupid persons have a great deal of stupid money,

and they don't know what to do with it. Thus cash accumulates in the hands of a lot of grandmothers who have no knowledge of business, but possess only the faculty of saving. When this blind capital gets particularly large and craving it is bound to get devoured at any cost — my remedy? Here it is: Not to allow any man to have a hundred pounds who cannot prove to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor that he knows what to do with a hundred pounds." Other conditions, however, must be taken into consideration of the depression of 1903.

Stupid persons who did not know what to do with their money doubtless contributed as largely to depression in 1903 as in Mr. Bagehot's day, though not so much through the faculty of saving and hoarding as through the mania for getting rich quickly. While it must be admitted that ignorance claimed its victims here and there, it may be justly claimed that the growing understanding of finance kept the public mind steadfast and undisturbed in the face of the most alarming situation since the panic of 1893.

Unprecedented Liquidation of Securities

The history of finance furnishes no parallel to the liquidation of securities which occurred in the United States during the major months of 1903. The unprecedented pressure to be rid of stocks and bonds was the paramount event of the fiscal year. It was a colossal slump; it terrorized financiers, it rendered business men apprehensive; it caused anxiety among the leaders of the political party in power; it presented a novel monetary phase to the economist; it occasioned a shrinkage which exceeded the cost of the Civil War. Yet the tremendous losses fell upon comparatively few people; they were borne by large financial institutions, by syndicates, by prominent capitalists, by honest and dishonest promoters, by unscrupulous adventurers, by get-rich-quick swindlers. "Tight money," the catch phrase of 1902, was not the basic trouble. The first premonition of the deep-seated trouble was the sudden contraction of fresh enterprises. Capitalization taken out for new corporations diminished in a surprising degree; from \$307,666,000 in May to \$56,100,000 in November against \$115,141,000 for November of 1902 and \$508,850,000 in the corresponding period in 1901. Next came the absolute refusal to put money in any kind of industrial, however well established.

Mr. Morgan's Undigested Securities

Early in April Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan gave out his memorable interview on "undigested securities," the kind of securities which a few months later Mr. James J. Hill more aptly described as "indigestible." Mr. Morgan optimistically said: "It seems to me that the general pessimistic talk indulged in, not alone in foreign but in local circles, is in no sense justified by the facts. It may be true that there are in the market many undigested securities, but ought not the character of these securities to be taken into consideration in a broad or comprehensive view of the situation? Are these securities sound or are they unsound; do they represent value or do they not; for what purposes have they been issued—those are the questions. To my mind and in my judgment these new securities are essentially sound and stable, and those who have them are not alarmed because of their holdings. Beyond all this, they are issued not to build competing lines but largely for the purpose of rolling stock and motive power and for the extension of other facilities necessitated by the necessary movement of the products of the country. In short, summing up the situation, not only is there prosperity everywhere, but the promises of a continuation of that prosperity for a long time to come."

At the same time it was rumored that Mr. Morgan was privately threatening war on Wall Street. A member of a prominent banking firm who, on returning from Europe had publicly expressed his doubts as to the stability of the stock list, was sent for by the promoter and told that if he or his friends attempted to act on that ground, they would be furnished with a bear market which the street would never forget. All kinds of securities, however, began to come on the market. Mr. Morgan retracted his hasty menaces. He evidently realized that his reputation had not only suffered abroad, but was imperilled at home. Acute distrust of the methods of "high finance" was reached when the affairs of the United States Shipbuilding Company came into the courts.

Collapse of the Shipbuilding Company

Early in July, ex-Senator James Smith, Jr., was appointed receiver for the Shipbuilding Company, the Court finding that it was

insolvent; that its directors had permitted it to drift; that its credit was gone; that it was without funds to meet maturing obligations. Some startling facts were developed at the hearing on the application for a receiver. President Lewis Nixon was charged with combining the shipbuilding companies for the purpose of selling the Crescent Shipbuilding concern, in which he was interested, at an exaggerated price and of having the new company issue a large amount of securities to be unloaded on the public. The most sensational charge was that against Charles M. Schwab, president of the United States Steel Company, alleging that Mr. Schwab paid not exceeding \$3,000,000 for the Bethlehem works, above the mortgages of about \$9,000,000 then on the property, and that he put the steel works into the Shipbuilding Company at about \$40,000,000 in bonds and stocks, which was about \$27,000,000 more than he paid for them, although he held the property only one year.

It was admitted by the reorganization committee that half of the trust's alleged capital was water, and the receiver found even more water when he investigated the business affairs of the companies in the organization. Mr. Smith's report, made public in November, declared plainly that there was fraud in the promotion of the company and laid the responsibility for failure at the door of Charles M. Schwab. It showed, first of all, that the prospectus issued to induce the public to subscribe for the trust's bonds "deliberately disregarded figures." It pointed out that "excessive prices were paid for the constituent companies, blocks of stock went to the vendors of the constituent plants and to the purchasers, as bonus, absolutely without benefit to the company; \$20,000,000 of it admittedly went to Mr. Schwab, in addition to the agreed price for Bethlehem. Some of it went to the promoters of this artistic swindle; and when all had been provided for, what was left of the bonds, amounting to \$1,500,000, was handed back to the company ostensibly to supply it with "working capital."

The "dummy directors" who authorized the issue of millions of shipbuilding bonds and stocks, were held culpable by the report, though not directly responsible. "The scheme was placed before them," said Mr. Smith, "by its instigators, and in conformity with their instructions and without the ability or knowledge to pass upon the mat-

ters therein contained, they proceeded to do as they were told." Mr. Schwab's dealings came in for the severest criticism and the trick by which he secured control was exposed in detail. Two causes for the failure of the company were emphasised by Mr. Smith. One was the fact that the directors parted with bonds to an amount upon which it was impossible to meet the interest; the other was the fact that "in the Bethlehem transaction the Shipbuilding Company had to deal with people who, while thoroughly understanding the intricacies of higher finance, seemed to have overlooked the requirements of common fairness."

The collapse of the shipbuilding trust placed in jeopardy Mr. Morgan's infallibility. All the other trust breakdowns had been explained by the admirers of Mr. Morgan on the theory that smaller men were trying to use his methods without his skill and prudence. No one else, they said, could bend the bow of Ulysses. This was well enough for Gates and other Western plungers who broke into Mr. Morgan's private preserves and licked up all loanable money in sight for the Rock Island and San Francisco deal when he wanted it for his Shipbuilding Company, but Mr. Schwab, who seemed to be chiefly responsible for blowing up the shipbuilding bubble, operated immediately under the eye of Mr. Morgan himself, who could not escape responsibility for letting him go such lengths.

Mr. Morgan built up his great influence by demonstrating time after time, his constructive ability and his safe leadership. Early in the year he frankly stated that he had made a certain large transaction in order to eliminate a speculator whom he considered dangerous to stable financial conditions. The experience of the financial free-booter, whom Mr. Morgan drove from the market, was used by the Editor of the *World's Work* to point this moral: "He goes forth to wreck and he wrecks. But his career is not a long one. He fails to hold the confidence of the public—even of his public. He builds up no permanent influence, the same law holds even with regard to any financial oligarchy. There is a small group of men in New York who, by combined action, can control a very large part of the great enterprises in the country. They can control a large part of the surplus wealth. But they would soon cease to control if they misused their power. Their power depends upon their safe use of it. Their own

selfish interests depend on their using their power conservatively and constructively. While then we are doubtless a long way from the ideal organization of financial life, and are yet in a period largely of one man power and under the influence of strong oligarchies, the devices for safety are more numerous than they may at first sight appear, and the structure of finance is more civilized than it seems."

The Moral of Mr. Schwab

The appointment of an assistant to Mr. C. M. Schwab in the person of W. E. Corey, who it was generally understood would perform the active duties of president of the United States Steel Corporation, served as a text for many newspaper sermons, which converted Mr. Schwab into an unconscious moral teacher, who had "shown us what comes of thinking in hundred millions and living in a mad rivalry of luxury," and had "done not a little to remind us that the old-fashioned moralities and the well-tried rules of business are still supreme." Moralizers, of course, said that he failed because he devoted his leisure to such ruinous diversions as gambling at Monte Carlo and recklessly speeding his automobile over the roads of the Riviera. It is only fair to say that the Monte Carlo episode came after his first physical breakdown, brought on by overwork. It was by industry and merit that Charles M. Schwab rose from a grocer's clerk, earning \$2.50 a week at the age of seventeen, to the presidency of the "Billion Dollar Steel Trust" at thirty-nine. For a score of years at least he was content to confine his natural abilities—his physical vigor, mental energy, technical training, and mastery of men—to the hum-drum tasks of legitimate business. Then came the temptation to make a colossal fortune by a stroke of the promoter's pen, and the gambling mania, so destructive to physical and moral life, checked a brilliant career at the early age of forty.

Industrial Bubbles

Another industrial bubble, another case of over-capitalization was that of the Consolidated Lake Superior Company which, because of its inability to repay a loan of \$5,000,000, became insolvent with a capitalization of \$117,000,000. This Company was organized in 1901 as a holding concern to take over the stock of numerous steel, iron,



MARSHALL FIELD
WILLIAM E. COREY

HENRY H. ROGERS
LEWIS NIXON

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mining, railway, water, paper, and power companies operating in the neighborhood of the Sault Ste. Marie. The actual cash investment in the purchase of the subsidiary companies was \$30,000,000. The preferred stock fell from 80 to $8\frac{1}{2}$ and the common from 36 to $\frac{1}{4}$. The company was reported to owe \$200,000 in wages and to be without money enough to buy feed for the horses in its lumber camps and yards. The greatest loss unquestionably fell on the men who put up the capital to float the Company. Instead of unloading their investment, as they had hoped to do, for more than three times its original value, they found there was nothing left of their original \$30,000,000 upon which they could realize.

"Runs" by alarmed investors on a number of so-called investment companies in St. Louis called attention to the folly of trying to make money in get-rich-quick schemes. The Turf Company promised from 2 per cent to 5 per cent a week; this alleged profit to be made by betting the invested money on horse races. The books of one Chicago concern of this sort showed receipts of \$150,000 in one month. One of the St. Louis concerns closed by the police, took in \$47,000 the day before the raid was made. The disclosures of similar schemes elsewhere showed that gigantic impostures were being conducted in all parts of our country.

A Land-mark in Financial History

The reduction of the dividend on the common stock of the United States Steel Corporation from the old rate of one to one-half of one per cent was regarded by many as a land-mark in financial history. Thirty thousand stockholders were affected by the reduction of the dividend, which was due to the fact that the earnings of the Company had fallen off \$4,642,668 for the third quarter of 1903 as compared with the same quarter of 1902. This act was approved by conservative financiers who regarded it as safer financial management to accumulate a surplus than to continue to pay 4 per cent dividends on the common stock. There were others, however, who chose to regard the whole conduct of this gigantic concern as open to the sharpest criticism, since the promoters and underwriters were exposed to the charge of having put the common stock on a dividend basis for the purpose of helping them to market the securities, rather than with any assurance

that the dividend could be afforded or continued. One writer pointed out: "If dividends otherwise inadvisable may rightly be paid to induce investors to give up their money, then the practices of the Fisks and Goulds a generation since have a powerful defense. Indeed the Consolidated Lake Superior Concern might quite as readily plead that it had to pay last year's 7 per cent dividend though on the verge of financial disaster because on no other basis could the stock be distributed. In the Lake Superior case the policy meant bankruptcy; in the steel corporation case it, of course, means nothing of the kind, but the principle involved is the same in the one instance as in the other."

According to figures furnished by Congressman Charles E. Littlefield, there were in the United States in 1903, at least 793 trusts or combinations, capitalized at over \$14,000,000,000, not including the railroads, capitalized at over \$12,000,000,000 more. At the head of these stood the United States Steel Corporation with a total capitalization of \$1,404,000,000, the next in order of magnitude being the Northern Securities, the Amalgamated Copper, the International Harvester, and the Standard Oil. The Steel Corporation consisted of 149 steel works with an annual capacity of 9,000,000 tons of finished work; 71,000 acres of coal lands, 30,000 acres in the coke region; seventy per cent of the ore mines of Lake Superior; 125 large vessels on the lakes; its employes numbered over 100,000. At the beginning of the year the corporation announced net earnings for 1902 of \$132,000,000 with a surplus of \$34,000,000. The orders on hand were for 5,347,213 tons of product, but on October 1 the orders on hand were only for 3,728,000 tons. In November the price of common shares went down to \$10 with the preferred at \$49.75.

Power of the Steel Corporation

The far-reaching power of such an organization as the Steel Corporation may be accurately summed up in the statement that one-twelfth of the estimated wealth of the United States was represented at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation when they were all present. The twenty-four Directors were: John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Marshall Field, H. H. Rogers, E. H. Gary, George W. Perkins, W. H. Moore, Norman

B. Ream, Henry C. Frick, Charles M. Schwab, W. E. Corey, C. A. Griscom, F. H. Peabody, Daniel G. Reid, Charles Steele, J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., P. A. B. Widener, Alford Clifford, James H. Reid, Robert Bacon, William Edenborn, Nathaniel Thayer, E. C. Converse, James Gayley.

They represented as influential directors more than two hundred other companies. These companies operated nearly one-half of the railroad mileage of the United States. They were the great miners and carriers of coal. Among these companies were such industrial trusts as the Standard Oil, the Amalgamated Copper, the International Harvester, the Pullman, the General Electric, the International Mercantile, The United States Realty and Construction, and The American Linseed. The leading telegraph system, the traction lines of New York, of Philadelphia, of Pittsburg, of Buffalo, of Chicago and of Milwaukee, and one of the principal express companies, were represented in the Board. The group also included directors of five insurance companies, two of which had assets of \$700,000,000. In the Steel Board were men who spoke for eleven banks and eighteen trust companies in great cities besides banking institutions in smaller cities. Together they controlled corporations whose capitalizations aggregate more than \$9,000,000,000 — an amount [if the capitalization were real values] equal to the combined public debts of Great Britain, France, and the United States. As the power to make rates of freight and rates of interest on loans is the highest power in the business world, and as the power over railroad rates and to a large degree the power over rates of interest were wielded by the same small group of capitalists, it would not have been impossible to name twenty or thirty men as practically controlling the trade and thus the wealth of the United States.

Checks to Trust Growth

The passage of the law establishing a bureau in the new department of Commerce and Labor, charged with securing publicity for corporate affairs; the President's aggressiveness in regard to trust legislation; the decision in the Beef Trust case, followed by the decision in the Northern Securities case — all had an undoubted influence with reference to the prices of securities, discouraging the flota-

tion of new ventures, and rendering difficult or impracticable the completion of plans already launched. Evidence that the anti-trust laws were actually in operation was somewhat disconcerting.

The establishment of the department of Commerce and Labor, President Roosevelt said in his message, tended to secure that publicity in corporate affairs which would do away with ignorance, and would afford facts upon which intelligent action might be taken. "Systematic intelligent investigation is already developing facts, the knowledge of which is essential to a right understanding of the needs and duties of the business world. The corporation which is honestly and fairly organized, whose managers in the conduct of its business recognize their obligation to deal squarely with their stockholders, their competitors and the public, has nothing to fear from such supervision. The purpose of this bureau is not to embarrass or assail legitimate business, but to aid in bringing about a better industrial condition—a condition under which there shall be obedience to law and recognition of public obligation by all corporations great or small."

The first complaint under the provisions of the Elkins anti-rebate law, enacted by the Fifty-Seventh Congress, was filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission on April 14. It was that of the Central Yellow Pine Association, made up of lumber firms, charging certain Southern railroads with granting rebates to manufacturers of yellow pine lumber, who had their plants and mills along the line of the defendant's roads.

A Blow to the Beef Trust

The Sherman anti-trust law, as laid down by Judge Grosscup of Chicago, seemed to take on new vitality. On May 20, 1902, after a full hearing of the facts and arguments as presented by counsel for the Government and the so-called Beef Trust, Judge Grosscup granted a temporary injunction against the combined packers forbidding them to fix uniform prices at which meat should be sold, to curtail the supply of meats to different markets, to coerce dealers in any way into maintaining the trust's fixed prices for meats, to restrain agents from bidding against each other for live stock. On August 4 of that year the packers, including Swift, Cudahy, Armour,

Nelson Morris, and others, filed a demurrer to this injunction, alleging that, even if the facts set forth by the Government's bill were true, they did not show any violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

On February 18, 1903, Judge Grosscup overruled this demurrer and granted a preliminary injunction. "Whatever combination," the court said, "has the direct and necessary effect of restraining competition is, within the meaning of the Sherman Act of July 2, 1890, as now interpreted, in restraint of trade. Thus defined, there can be no doubt that the agreement of the defendants to refrain from bidding against each other in the purchase of cattle is combination in restraint of trade; so, also, their agreement to bid up prices to stimulate shipments, intending to cease from bidding when the shipments have arrived. The same result follows when we turn to the combination of defendants to fix prices upon, and restrict the quantities of, meat shipped to their agents or their customers." Thus the main contentions of the people were fully sustained by the United States Circuit Court and the decision proved that offending commercial corporations could be punished under the Sherman act.

The Northern Securities Decision

Still stronger proof of the vitality of the Sherman act and a more telling blow against the industry of killing competition was the decision in the Northern Securities case. By a unanimous vote of its justices, the United States Court of Appeals at St. Paul, Minn., April 9, declared that the "merger" was an illegal combination in restraint of trade. The decision related to the suit brought by the Federal Government under the Anti-Trust act of July 2, 1890, for the purpose of divesting the Northern Securities Company of such control over the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railway corporations, as it had gained by acquiring majorities of their respective stocks, partly by purchase for cash, but mainly by the exchange of its own shares for shares of the railways. OUR OWN TIMES for 1901 records that in the spring of that year the stock market was convulsed by the struggle of large interests to get control, first of the Burlington railroad system and then of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The result of this financial fight was the organization in November 1901 of the Northern Securities Company. President Roose-

velt promptly directed Attorney-General Knox to discover whether the new company fell within the prohibition of the law. Mr. Knox determined that the law covered the new company and, under the direction of the President, brought suit, the States of Minnesota and Washington bringing suit at the same time.

I

The formal decree of the court was (1) that the Northern Securities Company acquired the stock of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific roads in virtue of a combination in restraint of trade; (2) that the Securities Company was enjoined from acquiring or attempting to acquire further stock of the two roads, or of voting their stock, or of exercising any control, direction, supervision, or influence over the affairs of the roads; (3) that the two roads were enjoined from permitting the Securities Company to vote their stock or to exercise any control over them; (4) that the company is permitted to return to the original holders all the Great Northern and Northern Pacific stock it has received. The decision, written by Judge Thayer, was concurred in by the other members of the court — Judges Caldwell, Sanburn, and Van Devanter. It laid down two principles the first of which was decidedly novel in our jurisprudence. It held (1) that the possession of power to do an unlawful act made the possessor punishable under the law precisely as if he had accomplished the forbidden purpose; (2) that the right to buy and sell property was to be exercised subject to the provisions of the Anti-Trust law. Underneath the two structural principles of the decision lay the whole great question of competition. As to the contention that the decision unduly restricted the right of the individual to buy and sell, it was pointed out that the stock of the two railroads owed its being to the laws of the States that chartered the companies and that those States had forbidden the combination or consolidation of competing and parallel lines of railroad; moreover, the Supreme Court had asserted that the right of Congress in such cases was not limited by the constitutional guarantee of liberty to the individual to enter into private contracts.

II

The assurance afforded by the merger decision that there was a power able and disposed to regulate, to control, if need be, to pro-

hibit or dissolve schemes calculated to evade the law, was naturally a matter of grave concern in the financial world. Wall Street suffered slightly on April 13 as a result. Stocks fell off and the London market was affected, but the depression proved temporary. There was a strong feeling in the street that the promoters of the merger would find some way of getting around the law. On April 20, the Securities Company filed an appeal to the Supreme Court, counsel for the company alleging thirty-four points of error in the decision and noting exceptions to every paragraph in the decree. The Circuit Court suspended the decree against the company so far as to permit it to accept dividends from the two railroads, but the rest of the injunction continued in effect pending the appeal.

III

On August 1, Judge Lochren, in the United States Circuit Court at St. Paul, handed down his decision in the case of the State of Minnesota against the Northern Securities Company, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroad Companies, and James J. Hill. He dismissed the bill of complaint on the ground that the defendants had not violated the State laws forbidding the consolidation of parallel and competing lines of railroad. The injunctions desired by the State were refused. This case was also carried to the Supreme Court, and the brief of the State of Minnesota in its appeal from Judge Lochren's decision was filed December 22.

IV

Arguments before the Supreme Court at Washington began on December 14 and concluded the following day, but no decision was rendered before the close of the year. The two main points of the defense, clearly indicated in the briefs submitted by John W. Griggs, counsel for the Securities Company, and by Francis Lynde Stetson and David Wilcox, attorneys for certain individual defendants, hinged upon the questions: Is the power to commit a prohibited act equivalent to the commission of it? Has Congress the authority to forbid the purchase and sale of property? Mr. John G. Johnson, representing the Securities Company, opened the hearing. The main point of his contention was that "the court was confronted not with a proposition where persons conducting trade agree with one another for the restraint of trade, but by a case where persons sell their prop-

erty to one another. And where has that ever been decided in a Federal court?" Mr. Johnson was followed by C. W. Bunn, representing the Northern Pacific, who attacked the decision of the Circuit Court on the ground that Congress had no control of the transfer of stock.

For the Government, Attorney-General Knox argued that the merger was a combination in restraint of interstate commerce illegal under the first section of the Sherman act, that it constituted a monopoly under the second section of that act, and that the court had the power to prevent, restrain, or prohibit it. "The law distinctly and plainly provides," said Mr. Knox, "that its policy shall never be defeated by the exercise of any ingenuity in the devising of forms. You may call it a merger, a combination, a pool, a conspiracy, a consolidation, a contract, a securities company, or whatever you like. The thing it accomplishes is not varied by a variation in name or manner of bringing it about." Summing up the points in support of his contention, the Attorney-General claimed:

(1) That the end the company accomplishes is to bring under one control the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads in such a way as to destroy competition between them and to create a monopoly of transportation in the section served by them.

(2) That this end was the deliberate purpose of the parties defendant who conceived and carried out the combination.

(3) That such a combination is in restraint of trade, as your honors have repeatedly decided, and therefore violates the act of Congress.

"It is bad enough," added Mr. Knox, "to bring the entire railroad facilities of an important section of the country under monopolistic control, but when to the power to fix charges for transportation you add the creations of scores of millions of fiat stock upon which those charges are expected to pay dividends, you impose an unjustifiable burden upon the people and exact too high a price for a successful evasion of the law. While it may be true that the recapitalization of these companies was based upon existing market values for their stock, yet existing market values at that time rested upon total forgetfulness of the fact that the progress of material prosperity is not continuous, and that those values were lifted upon the wings of an

optimism that had converted into stock and stock values all the prosperity in sight, as well as all hopes and expectations of many future years. This thing was done when men who have been regarded as wise men and safe men lost their hold upon their judgment and failed to withstand the temptation to gather for their instant personal advantage the fruits, which, conserved, would have lasted many years and benefited many people."

National Credit Tested

Disclosures of fraud and the dangers of over-capitalization, mismanagement, and disregard of the law so intimidated investors that the leaders in promotions were forced to sell out on one another. In 1903 there were 12,069 failures, with liabilities of \$155,444,185. Liquidations caused declines from twenty to more than one hundred points. Here was a test of the nation's commercial as well as its financial strength, a test of how much the people had really learned. In former times smaller causes had created a national panic; the failure of as many banks, together with a slump of half the dimensions of the one of 1903 would have upset business completely. But the country as a whole was not affected; it braved the downfall of half a dozen banks and brokerage houses with equanimity, and it faced demoralization of the steel industry which in other days would have brought on general depression.

I

Consecutive catastrophes in the business world did not weaken the strong defenses of our national credit. In fact during the crisis we paid off a big debt to Europe. In the previous year foreign loans in this country, together with our commitments to Europe in other directions, reached an approximate indebtedness of \$500,000,000 all of which was practically wiped out in 1903, and during the closing months the United States was importing gold at the average rate of about \$7,000,000 a week. For the eleven months of the calendar year ending with November 30, imports of gold showed an increase of more than \$6,000,000 over the record for 1902, and an excess above the exports approximating \$5,200,000. English, French, and German creditors wanted their money to relieve the pressure at home. The decline in American values in the steel and in the iron trade had

affected foreign finance. British Consols struck the lowest point since the Crimean War; South African mining shares declined to one half their nominal value; English rails were almost demoralized, and when the European demand for cotton was in full tide exchange weakened to a point where New York and Chicago bankers were enabled to import \$23,000,000 of gold, at the very time when the Bank of England raised the price of bar gold to the highest point in a generation. United States Government Bonds remained the world's first security; they stood relatively higher than those of the governments of England, France, or Germany. The cardinal reason for the disparity was the growing knowledge of this nation's boundless resources; its marvelous recuperative power; its inexhaustible energy. While financial centers were disturbed, the farmer, the planter, and the miner were never so busy. The number of depositors in savings banks was estimated at 7,035,228, the total deposits amounting to \$2,935,204,845, or an average to each depositor of \$417.21.

II

Another element which influenced the financial world was the condition of the national treasury. The United States held twenty per cent of the gold coin and bullion of the world. At the end of the year there was in circulation \$2,466,345,887, an amount of money which almost exactly matched the international trade between the United States and other nations in the year of greatest achievement in that line, the year 1900. Taking the population at the given figures of 81,177,000 the circulation per capita was \$30.38.

In his annual report as Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Shaw emphasized the continuance of good times in spite of the shrinkage in the market value of the securities of the great corporations. While ignoring the myriads of propositions submitted to him for currency reform, he made some practical recommendations. Noting that the use of gold coin and certificates was increasing in all branches of business, he suggested the issue of \$10 certificates with a view of extending facilities for the employment of this kind of money. The total revenue of the Government was \$560,396,674, showing a surplus of \$54,297,667. Inland revenues declined to \$230,810,000, but customs revenue increased to \$284,479,582; without any intervening change in duties, the yearly customs revenues had increased nearly

\$80,000,000 in four years. Imports fell off in October and November, the very months which witnessed an increase in exports, thus making a heavy balance in favor of the United States. For the fiscal year the total exports of domestic merchandise were valued at \$1,392,231,302, an excess over imports of \$394,422,442.

Cotton Gambling

Cotton was a most significant factor in shaping the year's financial history. Two years before Europe being well supplied with cotton and, deeming the price demanded by the American producer excessive, refused to buy. The planters having had several years of plenty, and therefore funds on hand and no importunate creditors, were willing to hold their staple, and so the international business in the product was deadlocked. Concessions on both sides were made the previous year. Unfortunately for both parties there were no concessions in 1903; Europe was practically starved into buying the commodity early in October. The price had been manipulated by cotton speculators. The forced purchases by the Europeans, who were intimidated as much by the extraordinary manipulations as by false reports of a short crop and the sudden advance in price, enticed the rank and file in the South into a most dangerous and disastrous gamble.

I

A statistical expert estimated that 75,000,000 people in the United States would pay an average of \$5 apiece in 1903 because a man named Brown had cornered the cotton market. By securing every bale of cotton on the market and by purchasing even the stocks in the mills, William P. Brown, of New Orleans, succeeded in pushing the price of cotton up to fifteen cents a pound. Many previous attempts to corner the market had brought disaster to ambitious operators, but on closing his great deal in September cotton, Mr. Brown's two pools were said to have cleared \$8,000,000. "I have been accused of squeezing the spinners," said he in an interview. "This is false; I have only been taking cotton from speculators and selling it to spinners. I have never unloaded on the public and I never shall." Mr. Brown boasted that his corner would put the market on a business basis and run speculators out of the business. "It means the end of the cotton speculation," he declared.

II

In December, when the report of the Department of Agriculture was made public, the price of cotton again soared, since the Government estimate was for the unexpectedly small total of 9,962,000 bales, from 10,000 to 25,000 bales lower than the bull figures of the New Orleans leader and the dethroned cotton king, D. J. Sully, given out a few days previous. The situation stirred up some ugly talk; it was broadly hinted also that the Government figures had leaked out before the report was published, because of the fact that the bull leaders had displayed greater confidence than ever before in the Government figures. No real basis for the accusation was disclosed during the year. The Government report is founded on the statements made to Government agents by the cotton growers, whose interest is naturally to make the crop appear as small as possible in order to obtain high prices. As a result the Government report is generally several hundred thousand bales behind the real figures for the crop as they appear in the spring.

III

High cotton meant prosperity for the South, but ruin for the manufacturers and starvation for thousands of families dependent upon them—an effect overlooked in Mr. Brown's boast of the beneficent effects of his corner. Of the 26,000,000 spindles in the United States that twist the fiber into yarn, over 6,000,000 had stopped by the middle of September and over 7,000,000 were running only half time. In Manchester, England, 750 factories had closed their doors, and the mills of Lancashire had closed. On the Continent many of the mills were running only three or four days a week. Naturally the greatest sufferers at home and abroad were the owners and operatives of the smaller mills. Of the 175,000 hands employed in the New England mills, 65,000 accepted a cut of ten per cent in wages in October, and 15,000 more accepted a reduction in December.

IV

Gambling in cotton affected not only American interests but menaced the whole cotton industry. The foreign manufacturer was no more willing than the home manufacturer to risk capital. The condition bred hostility to corners on the part of both labor and capital and seriously disturbed trade at home and abroad. The chairman of

the British Master Cotton Spinners submitted a scheme to that organization for defeating the operations of the gamblers who had forced up the price of cotton. He estimated the loss to British cotton spinners by a total stopping of the forty-five million spindles at \$24,575,825. Taking the working year as fifty weeks, the loss per week would thus be \$491,516, equal to \$1.20 per mule spindle. He suggested that every concern running during the proposed period of stoppage should pay at that rate (\$1.20 per mule spindle) and the money thus raised be devoted to a fund for dealing with questions of cotton supply, check-mating gambling and cornering, or to any other purpose affecting the welfare of the whole trade. The measure was heartily endorsed.

War on American Cotton

A significant economic movement in Europe was the simultaneous effort of Great Britain, France, and Germany to emancipate their spinning industries from dependence upon American cotton. The portentous feature of the situation was that there appeared, not only in Germany, but throughout Europe, a growing feeling of resentment against this dependence and a determination that the spinning and weaving industries must at any cost be emancipated from such vassalage by the development of wholly new sources of supply. In England this movement had inspired the organization of the British Cotton Growing Association which after two years of more or less successful experiments in Sierre Leone, received at the close of 1903 from the Province of Lagos, West Africa, a sample shipment of thirty tons from that season's crop, which was pronounced equal to the best American upland cotton in both length and quality of fibre. At the annual show of the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, at Melbourne, Australia, were exhibited two new varieties of cotton of exceptional quality grown in the State of Queensland.

France's Colonial Cotton Association experimented with such success in the Sudan that the samples received from there were reported as having reached the grade of Egyptian cotton and were, therefore, adapted to the mercerizing process which consumed a large and growing percentage of the Egyptian staple. In Spain a bill was introduced in the Cortes to encourage the cultivation of cotton, exempting from taxation for three years all land devoted to cotton raising

and all live stock used on the land, and by the payment of money prizes to those who obtained the best results.

The German crusade for a colonial cotton supply was by far the most vigorous and the most interesting. It offered many incentives to colonists to devote themselves to cotton growing. The Colonial committee furnished gins and bale presses free of charge, and the German Steamship Line of Hamburg offered free transport. The result was that the Saxon Spinner's Union which had previously had cotton from German West Africa now received consignments from German East Africa also. Through the German Consul at Galveston arrangements were made to educate at agricultural schools and on plantations in Texas a number of young Germans, who signed contracts to spend a given number of years as superintendents of plantations in the German African colonies. Moreover, a German American from Texas named Becker, was sent out to Dar-Es-Salam to establish an office there, and to organize all cotton schemes and see them properly carried out. Railway development for transport from the inner lands to the points of shipment was also taken in hand. Togoland showed the greatest improvement and the crop there was estimated at \$1,000,000. The Reichstag voted the funds necessary to construct a railway for transport from Lome to Palime. In German East Africa there were 400,942 acres under cultivation, but it was estimated that the completion of the Niassa Railway would make it possible to cultivate 247,104 more acres of good cotton growing land; accordingly the Reichstag sanctioned an extension of the Tanga-Korogwe Railway to Mombo, for which it had refused to vote the previous year.

The Dutch also gave attention to this important question, as it affected their East Indian colonies. Two varieties of cotton have long been cultivated in Java and much was done in 1903 to develop the trade. The administration of the Residency of Samarang, the chief center of the cotton cultivation, promoted and protected the interests of the planters, and the Government provided a sum of money to be advanced as loans and premiums. Even in Palestine there was a revival of cotton growing; native cotton there is inferior to that of Egypt, but improvement is difficult since, while the indigenous variety flourishes, cotton from foreign seed can only be grown successfully with expensive irrigation.

Industrial Development of the South

Another interesting phase of the cotton question was the South's growing independence of her dominant industry. Cotton, to be sure, was still king, yet many rival claimants were coming into power. A review of the year's progress in the Southern States points to a remarkable industrial expansion. The investment of at least \$4,000,000 at Fort Worth, Texas, by two great meat-packing concerns, the increased capacities of flouring mills and tobacco factories in Kentucky, the strengthening of vast manufacturing enterprises in Alabama, all indicate solid and substantial progress in new lines.

Textile plants in the Piedmont section, especially in the upper portion of South Carolina, marked the change toward higher grades of manufacture. The population of many districts increased as the result of building cotton mills, flour mills, and other industries. The development of the coal fields of Arkansas and Indian Territory and parts of Tennessee and West Virginia gave an impetus to railroad building and other activities in these regions. Oil brought millions to Beaumont, Texas, while Lexington, Kentucky, was stimulated by the development of the oil fields in that section. Lexington also shared in the development of a system of interurban electric lines like that connecting Petersburg and Richmond, West Virginia, and the one connecting eight different cities in North Carolina.

Financial Independence of the West

Good crops and good times were the portion of the West. A writer in the *Review of Reviews* relates that one day during the autumn of 1903 a dweller on the prairie drew from the country bank a little nest egg of \$200 that had been there for half a decade. "I am going to stay," he remarked to the cashier. "My money has been saved until we were sure that the West suited us. It does. When I left Pennsylvania I determined to put aside enough to take us back any time in ten years. We don't want to go back now." This was cited as a typical sentiment of the many who have sought prosperity in the West and found it, as a proof that the day of speculation and experiment has passed away and that substantial business enterprise based on plans of permanency has succeeded it. Seven years of plenty in the West and a better understanding of conditions have

helped the Westerner towards a realization of his ideal of financial independence. Enough had been saved and added to the Western investment and operating fund to make the problem of the crop money much easier to solve.

I

The capacity of the Western banks to care for their customers was greater in 1903 than ever before. The report of the Comptroller showed that bank loans east of Ohio and north of Virginia, comprising all the great Eastern markets, decreased \$18,885,636. West of the Ohio line bank loans increased \$59,682,125. The increase in the Western section during the past year was thirteen per cent., and in the past two years forty-four per cent. Ten years before when there came a financial crisis the West owed millions to the East that it could not pay, the East needed the money and demanded its own; now the West owed much less to the East and the East did not ask it because under the prevalent conditions the investments in the West were better than those made in the East. During the year the West gathered its energies and conserved its possessions in order that it might have plenty of money available for carrying on its established affairs.

II

At the dedication ceremonies of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held in St. Louis April 30 and May 1 and 2, President Roosevelt dwelt upon the contribution of the Western States to the national prosperity. The exposition, he said, commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the event which more than any other, after the foundation of the Government, and always excepting its preservation, determined the character of our national life — determined that we should be a great expanding nation instead of relatively a small and stationary one.

The Louisiana Purchase, for which was paid \$15,000,000 in 1803, contained a population of 15,000,000 and in it lay the greater part of twelve states, with an area of 875,000 square miles. This territory in 1900 produced in farm products alone \$750,000,000; its farm animals were valued at \$825,000,000; over two billion dollars has been taken from the mines of Colorado and Montana, and when this material wealth is added to the inestimable importance of this territory in the development of the country, it is made plain that its acquirement was

an event worthy of commemoration on the impressive scale that had been planned for it.

Barometers of National Prosperity

Industrial expansion in the South and the financial independence of the West seemed additional proof that the country had marched along in serene indifference to the antics in Wall Street and that the buying, the selling, and the saving powers of the people were unimpaired. Those two excellent barometers of national prosperity — the bank clearings and railroad earnings — indicated a continuance of good times. Bank clearings in a hundred and eight leading cities of the United States for the six months of 1903 aggregated \$1,362,711,266, against \$1,182,614,799 for the corresponding period of 1902, the increase being \$180,096,467. The 1903 figures outside of New York City were the largest on record. They were slightly reduced in New York because of a smaller volume of stock speculation. The railroads of the country showed an increase per month in 1903 over 1902 of \$7,587,083. According to the Bureau of Statistics the reports of domestic trade on the Great Lakes for six months of 1903 outran those of the previous year by almost a million tons. Altogether the year ended far better than it promised, and the country successfully underwent such liquidation as no other nation had ever experienced.

Depressing Conditions in England

On the whole the year in England was far from satisfactory. Agriculture suffered from bad harvests, particularly in cereals, which early in the year gave great promise. This affected the purchasing power of a large part of the English people, though it led to no very large increase in the prices of food, the English deficiency being made up by the splendid crops of North America, Argentina, and Russia. During the entire year a large number of manufacturers were compelled to work at decreased profits; in some cases they had to work at a loss in order to cope with vigorous competition of foreign manufacturers. The iron and steel trade began the year under happy auspices owing to the demand from the United States, but by the end of the year so greatly had American capacity grown that United States steel and iron threatened to flood the English market. The falling off

toward the end of the year in shipbuilding further affected the iron and steel industries. In the cotton industry the year 1903 was one of the worst ever recorded owing to the enormous speculative increase in the price of raw cotton.

For ship owners and freight companies it was an unusually bad year. The freight earnings were so small that they hardly covered the costs of transportation. Premiums paid to steamship companies by foreign governments caused the English ships no end of trouble and loss, particularly on the short distance lines. Toward the end of the year the number of unemployed constantly increased, though there were no great strikes and no labor troubles that were not adjusted by the Boards of Arbitration. A cry went up all over the country for greater industrial and commercial vigilance. "Wake up, John Bull!" was still the refrain of topical songs and the theme of current cartoons. A strong feeling prevailed that if England was to maintain supremacy even in her own markets against the United States, Belgium, and Germany, she would have to emulate those countries in their scientific methods of manufacturing and doing business. It was the psychological moment for Joseph Chamberlain to thrust the question of a British Imperial Zollverein into the forefront of public discussion.

Mr. Chamberlain's Fiscal Campaign

No pronouncement in recent years has so stirred the British public as that of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy outlined on May 15 to his constituents at Birmingham. The time had come, he declared, when the country must deliberately adopt or reject a policy of imperial unification, for the promotion of which it was necessary that Great Britain should cordially reciprocate any advance that the colonies made toward solidarity of interests with the Mother Country. A great conference of all the British colonies in South Africa had recommended giving England a preference on all dutiable goods of twenty-five per cent. At the Conference of Colonial Premiers the representatives of Australia and New Zealand had accepted the same principle. Canada had already given a preference of twenty-five per cent, afterwards increased to thirty-three and one-third per cent, without asking for an equivalent; but her statesmen were ready to go farther if Great

Britain could meet them by allowing the Dominion a drawback on the shilling duty on wheat.

I

"Is it better," Mr. Chamberlain asked in opening fire, "to cultivate the trade of your own people, or let them go in order that you may keep the trade of those who rightly enough are your competitors and rivals? This is the new position which the people of this Empire have to consider. They have two alternatives. They may maintain in its severity the artificial and wrong interpretation which has been placed upon the doctrine of free trade by the small remnant of 'Little Englanders' who profess to be the sole repositories of the doctrines of Cobden and Bright. In that case they will be absolutely precluded either from giving preference or favor to the colonies abroad or from protecting the colonies when they offer a favor to us. The second alternative is that we will not be bound by any purely technical definition of free trade; that while we seek a free interchange of trade between ourselves and all nations of the world, we will, nevertheless, resume the power of negotiation and, if necessary, retaliation whenever our own interests or our relations with the colonies are threatened by other people."

Sir Gilbert Parker thus put Mr. Chamberlain's policy in a nutshell: "It means reciprocity between the British nations and sufficient retaliation against our foreign rivals to make that reciprocity possible and profitable, or stand by your own and make the outsider pay."

II

On the very same day that Mr. Chamberlain was pleading for preferential tariffs at Birmingham, Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister, in reply to a deputation, was defending the repeal of the corn tax, one of the proposals of the new budget by Mr. Ritchie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This war tax, a registration or port tax on wheat, which had been imposed only the year before, was denounced at the time, and again by this deputation, as the entering wedge of a protectionist policy. Mr. Balfour denied that the tax was intended to be protective in its effect, but the great protest against it made it impossible to regard it as a permanent part of Britain's fiscal system. In regard to a preferential scheme to bind the Colonies to the Mother Country, such a political union was not yet possible. "Such a move-

ment must come, not from one or two industries, but from the conscience and intellect of the great body and mass of the people."

The public mind, perplexed by the discordant effect of these two speeches, naturally wondered how Mr. Chamberlain, standing apparently in flat-footed opposition to the Ministry, could remain a member of the Government. This breach was covered for a time by the plan of an inquiry into the established fiscal policy, conducted by the Government under a steady fire of hostile criticism. The Balfour Cabinet, threatened for a while by dissension, was held together by an ingenious, though not very convincing speech of Mr. Balfour's, in which he declined to take one view or the other. He held that members of the cabinet were free to differ in their opinions so long as they were united in action, and since they did not propose to act immediately upon any project of preferential tariffs there was no reason for a break-up of the Government. Contrary to the prevailing impression, however, the Premier's speech intimated that underneath its alleged open-mindedness there lurked no opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda.

Mr. Balfour, supported by the Unionist press, continued to preserve an open mind on the tariff question, but as Mr. Chamberlain's fight waxed hotter, the Unionist press appeared to abandon his cause altogether. This was true of the *London Times*, *Standard*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *St. James Gazette*, *Birmingham Post* and of a few other papers which, after two months of open-mindedness took second thought. There was a strong feeling that Mr. Chamberlain had prejudiced his case by the blunt way in which he had stated it. For example in a letter to a workingman correspondent he made the bold statement that "even if the price of food were raised by a preferential tariff, the rate of wages would certainly be raised in greater proportion." Stronger arguments than this seemed necessary to reconcile the English mind to the idea of the "dear loaf."

III

A protracted debate in the House of Lords produced a perceptible relaxation in the tension of public feeling. While Lord Goschen's speech was recognized as containing a masterly and comprehensive statement of the criticisms which the "dear loafers" would have to encounter, the Duke of Devonshire's exposition of the theory of the

"inquiry" somewhat pacified Free Trade Unionists. Lord Lansdowne's speech helped to stimulate a feeling that some action might be necessary to meet foreign fiscal attacks on the freedom of British inter-imperial relations. A significant symptom of the effect of the campaign was the meeting, on July 1, of the Unionist free trade members of Parliament to the number of fifty-four to organize action in defense of fiscal principles. A resolution was unanimously passed to examine the probable effect of suggested fiscal changes on the unity of the Empire and the social and industrial welfare of the United Kingdom, and to take steps for placing before the country the objections entertained by the meeting to protective taxation on food imports. Organizations multiplied daily for the education of public opinion on both sides of the great issue. On July 13 sixty Unionist members inaugurated a Unionist Free Food League. A Free Trade league was established, mainly by Liberals; the Cobden Club instigated a vigorous vindication of its traditional principles. On the other hand, a Tariff Committee, constituted in connection with the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association, began diffusing tracts justifying Mr. Chamberlain's policy. The Tariff Reform League, another organization sympathetic to protection, held a successful inaugural meeting in London on July 21, with a large attendance including several Peers and thirty members of the House of Commons.

IV

In a manifesto published on August 15, the majority of the leading economists of Great Britain declared themselves against the tariff proposals. They laid particular stress on what they called a striking popular error, namely, that an increase of imports involved the diminished employment of workmen in the importing country. It seemed to the signatories of the document impossible to devise any tariff regulation which would at once expand the wheat-growing areas in the Colonies, encourage agriculture in the United Kingdom, and at the same time not injure the British consumer. A smaller number of economists wrote separately to the *Times* dissociating themselves from the declaration, and welcoming the proposed changes first on economic grounds, believing they would tend to secure Britain's manufacturing interests; secondly, on political grounds, holding that the existing fiscal policy tended to imperial disintegration.

V

In spite of fierce denunciation and strongly organized opposition, Mr. Chamberlain steadily made converts. During the first weeks of the Parliamentary recess, he refrained from public utterance and contented himself with drilling the enlisted recruits to take part, as he put it, "not in an inquiry but in a big fight." His final preparation for "pulling off the fight" consisted in ridding himself of the shackles of the Colonial Secretary's office. His resignation was announced in the morning papers on September 18. A letter to Mr. Balfour dated nine days before made clear his position. In this letter Mr. Chamberlain deprecated the "unscrupulous use made of the old cry of the dear loaf" and acknowledged that serious prejudice had been created. In conclusion he said: "I think I should be justly blamed if I remained in office and formally accepted the exclusion from my political program of so important a part of it. I think that with absolute loyalty to your Government and its general policy, and with no fear of embarrassing it in any way, I can best promote the cause I have at heart from the outside, and I cannot but hope that, in a perfectly independent position, my arguments may be received with less prejudice than would attach to those of a party leader. Accordingly I suggest to you that you should limit the present policy of the Government to the assertion of our freedom in the case of all commercial relations with foreign countries, and that you should agree to my resignation of my present office to his majesty and to my devoting myself to the work of explaining and popularizing those principles of imperial union which my experience has convinced me are essential to our future welfare and prosperity." "The loss to the Government is great," wrote Mr. Balfour in his letter of acquiescence, dated September 16, "but the gain to the cause you have at heart may be greater still."

VI

Mr. Chamberlain began his "big fight" by addressing an audience of 6,000 persons in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. Reviewing the commercial history of the last thirty years, Mr. Chamberlain noted that Britain's export trade had increased in that time by about £20,000,000 a year against £110,000,000 for the United States and £56,000,000 for Germany. Exports to foreign countries had decreased by £46,000,000, and they might be increased to the extent of £26,000,000 a year, he

believed by a system of preferential tariffs. He estimated that the result of such an increase would be new employment, at thirty shillings a week for 166,000 men or the subsistence of 830,000 persons. His program included no tax on raw materials. He proposed a duty of two shillings a quarter on foreign wheat, with a corresponding duty on flour, wheat from British possessions to come in free. Corn would be altogether exempt from duty, partly because it was the food of some of the very poorest people, partly because it was raw material for farmers who fed their pigs on it. There would also be a duty of five per cent on foreign meat and dairy produce, excepting bacon as the poor man's food; a substantial preference to colonial wine and, perhaps, fruit.

The weight of the new taxes would not, he contended, fall exclusively on the consumer, and he figured that the actual increase would not be more than nine and one-half farthings per week to the farm laborer and ten farthings to the artisan in towns, notwithstanding the Board of Trade's figures pointed to an increase of sixteen and a half farthings for the one and nineteen and a half farthings for the other. Moreover, he proposed to take off three-quarters of the duty on tea and half the duty on sugar, with corresponding reductions on coffee and cocoa; which would mean a weekly reduction of seventeen farthings to the agricultural laborer and nineteen and a half farthings to the artisan. As an off-set to the loss of revenue entailed by this proposition, roughly estimated at £2,800,000, he suggested a tax averaging not more than ten per cent on foreign manufactures which would yield £9,000,000 a year, and might be used for further reduction of the taxes on food or other taxes which pressed too hard on the community.

On the following day, speaking at Greenock, upon the necessity of being in a position to retaliate against foreign tariffs, Mr. Chamberlain said, "I never like being hit, without striking back again,"—a policy he was forced to act upon continually during the heated campaign he had inaugurated. He was attacked from all sides, by representatives of all classes and parties, often with venom and vehemence. He was accused of juggling figures, of crying "wolf," when there was no wolf. Lord Spencer in a public address declared him "one of the most reckless and unscrupulous of statesmen, who never hesi-

tated to use any weapon that would advance his cause." For two months Mr. Chamberlain answered a steady fire of criticism and vituperation, speaking almost daily, and storming the centers of free-trade in England, Scotland, and Wales. The only enemy to whom he succumbed was his old enemy the gout, which conquered his indefatigable activity for a little while. His appeal for funds for his campaign met with a surprisingly hearty response. Donations ranging from a shilling to £1,000 were received. One letter read: "I am only a workingman, but I send you a shilling to help old Joe along."

VII

The fiscal controversy continued the paramount public interest until the close of the year. Challenged to produce a scientific tariff, Mr. Chamberlain replied by announcing at Leeds the appointment by the Tariff Reform League, of a non-political commission of experts, comprising leading representatives of every industry, of India and the self-governing and crown colonies. One of the most influential men who consented to serve was Mr. Charles Booth, the eminent statistician and student of industrial conditions, whom Mr. Chamberlain was able to quote as in agreement with his policy. By the end of December the commission had grown to an imposing body of fifty men, pledged to study the question from all points of view and to endeavor to draft a scheme of protection satisfactory to all whose interests should be consulted.

The greatest victory Mr. Chamberlain could claim for his cause during the year was that he had succeeded in uprooting from the public mind the fixed idea that the British fiscal policy was unassailable, that, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had solemnly declared, "to dispute free trade was like disputing the law of gravitation." The admission that new occasions might teach new duties, the substitution of thoughtful inquiry into actual conditions for unquestioning acquiescence in established principles, meant a solid gain for Britain, whatever the outcome of the controversy might be. It must be acknowledged, however, that the agitation seriously retarded the recuperation so essential after a long and exhausting war, and contributed materially to the general industrial depression. Its effects on foreign trade were far less than had been predicted; the Board of Trade returns established a new record, the total figures for imports and exports

being the highest ever recorded by as much as £25,000,000. The imports amounted to £542,906,000 as compared with £528,391,000 in 1902, and the exports were £360,447,000 as against £349,239,000. Great Britain still led the world in her foreign trade, America being second, and Germany a close third.

Canada Increases Duties on German Goods

The announcement made by the Canadian Finance Minister at the beginning of the year that Canada intended to impose a surtax of ten per cent upon all German goods made the question of German commercial relations with the Dominion one of the features of the fiscal debate. The question not only concerned the case of Canada but involved the future of German policy toward the scheme of a customs union between Great Britain and her colonies. The Dominion was charged with having arbitrarily abandoned the system of the most-favored-nation treatment by according preferential duties to the Mother Country. Fresh German reprisals were threatened and the hope was expressed that Australia would not follow the Canadian example. German financial organs expressed the opinion that German commercial relations would not be affected by the tariff war with Canada; that it was better to have a skirmish with a colony than with a great European State, and that the experience acquired in this petty conflict would hasten the conclusion of new commercial treaties so as to obviate the possibility of similar difficulties on a greater scale. There was, however, considerable feeling in Germany that the British Government was inspiring or supporting the Canadian policy, and this together with the anti-Chamberlain feeling anticipated friction in the commercial relations of England and Germany. Such a feeling undoubtedly instigated the Central European Economic Union formed in Berlin.

Continental Europe on the Defensive

This Central Economic Union was organized with the aim of allying the trade interests of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and France, and effecting harmonious measures of defense against England, Russia, and the United States. It was urged that the United States could be effectively influenced against the protective

tariff policy only if it had to count with the possible loss of a large trade territory represented by this alliance with its 153,000,000 people. At the first meeting all classes in Germany were represented, politicians, merchants, landowners, and manufacturers. The Kaiser's brother-in-law Duke Ernst Gunther was elected president. In his inaugural speech he was careful to avoid any points against Mr. Chamberlain's policy, though it was referred to in the proclamation of the promoters as the principal reason for forming the association. The Duke said that the first duty was to stem the tide of American-made goods which was sweeping the European markets. Against the protest of several representative manufacturers the constitution and by-laws which had previously been prepared were adopted by acclamation. Branches of the Union sprang up in Vienna and Budapest, but at the close of the year France and Italy had not yet entered the league.

Negotiations for the regulation of trade on the basis of a new tariff were entered upon, but no satisfactory agreement was reached. The report of the Cologne Association called attention to "the vexatious way in which the American tariff was applied to the detriment of German exporters," and urged that the German Government threaten reprisals under its new tariff in order to procure more advantageous terms for German trade, having in view the fact that "the exports of America to Germany had for years been twice or thrice as great as German exports to America." As an illustration of the unsound basis of German commercial relations with America the report pointed to the fact that German iron and machine industries had declined to exhibit at St. Louis since they could find no market in America while duties ranged from forty to fifty per cent.

Germany's Strenuous Commercialism

Germany gave evidence of a steady recuperation from the industrial collapse following the boom of 1900. Never since modern machinery and modern methods of business have been employed had there been such fierce competition and such small profits. Each manufacturing jobber was forced by stern necessity to put more energy and more study into his business to keep pace with the strenuous commercial tendency of the times. Had it not been for a few fortunate circumstances the result in 1903 would have been bad indeed. A succe-

sion of good crops quite above the average was perhaps the greatest uplift toward commercial safety. Exports and imports increased. The large purchases of iron and steel from the United States and the strikes in mining and other industries in the United States contributed to assist the German manufacturer to dispose of his product upon a world which was rapidly becoming seriously over-supplied and over-exploited in the headlong race for market.

General prosperity in the United States, peace in South Africa, and the end of the tariff battle in the Reichstag, though less important, were fortunate circumstances in sustaining the commercial activity in Germany. Perhaps the most significant signs of improvement were the increase in the savings bank deposits, the decrease in failures, the increased earnings of all the railways, and the decrease in the number of persons out of work. The principal features of finance in Germany were low interest rate, small business in stocks, and a large business in safe investment securities. The trust question, particularly the steel trust question, appeared to be as pressing in Germany as in the United States, but with this difference, that the trusts or syndicates succeeded in convincing the people at large and the Government also that the situation as it existed was preferable to absolute liberty. The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce deprecated in its report any restrictive measures against the extension or activity of commercial combination. The chamber held the belief that trusts are, on the whole, beneficial to the general economic interest, and it maintained that any abuses attending their activity could be easily corrected by legislation without unduly hampering them. The free-trade movement added considerably to its strength during the year, by making an issue of the trust question. According to the literature of its propaganda, there were no fewer than 400 capitalistic trusts in Germany, wielding oppressive power and being fattened by a protective tariff.

France's Fair Field

Generally speaking the year was one of peace and unimpaired prosperity for France. Trade, though not greatly augmented, did not decrease. The wheels of industry, despite strikes in the textile industries of the North and the high price of cotton, for the most part turned smoothly. An extraordinarily large harvest of wheat was

gathered; the wine crop was plentiful; the colonies prospered, and altogether the country could give thanks. The issue of \$50,000,000 in new bonds authorized in February was over-subscribed in less than three days. While the national debt of France was the largest in the world and the country was supposed to be crushed under taxation, the private savings of people at large seemed inexhaustible and sufficient to meet any of the nation's needs. In strictly fiscal matters, however, France was not in an enviable situation, as the deficit of \$29,000,000 showed. This deficit was provided for by an additional tax on petroleum and by an increase of import duty on other goods.

The trust bogie aroused wild alarm in France on the organization of the combination known as the "French Shipping Trust," with headquarters at Paris. Apprehensions were soon quieted by the statement of the promoters that the combination embodied the best means of studying and defending the common industrial interests of French shipowners. It carefully excluded any course likely to injure or prejudice any fraction of the association. The group included fourteen-fifteenths of French tonnage, a total of 1,500,000 tons. The tonnage of the Mercantile Marine at that time was 1,100,000, and that of its nearest rival, the Hamburg-American Line, was 630,000.

Italy's Creditable Account

While many of the richer nations were groaning under the burden of debt and deficit, Italy, the poverty-stricken, came forward at the end of the year with a balance to her credit of 69,000,000 lire. This result was attributed to the efforts of several successive ministers of finance, all of whom had done their best to hasten the financial uplifting of the country. An appreciative ovation was accorded Sgr. Luzzatti, when on December 9 he announced this splendid surplus, together with a reduction of fifty per cent on the import duties on petroleum. The report of the Banca d'Italie confirmed the claims of the Government press in regard to Italy's economic condition. The bank made a great point of the rapid and continuous absorption of securities held abroad, and of the large sums sent home by the American emigrants, which tended toward the disappearance of exchange.

Italy found herself in the throes of a preferential tariff all her own, arising out of the fact that the northern part of the peninsula

violently opposed the tariff preferences which were said to be absolutely essential to the prosperity of the south of Italy. A bitter controversy arose over the importation of a few tons of grain from the Italian colony of Eritrea. The storm of protest was due to a feeling similar to that engendered among the beet sugar interests when it was proposed to give Cuban sugar a tariff preference.

Russia's Financial Straits

Russia was in financial straits most of the year, notwithstanding the optimistic tone of M. Witte's report, as minister of finance. "The value of goods exported by us," he asserted, "exceeded the value of imports by 300,000,000 roubles, a greater increase than in any year of the past decade." M. Witte further stated that Russia's experience justified her in regarding her money circulation as entirely assured. He admitted that certain branches of industry had been in a deplorable condition, but predicted speedy recovery, particularly in the metal industry. As to taxation, that had reached its highest point, he declared. It transpired, however, that the Siberian railroad debt had grown from 2,600,000 roubles in 1900 to 51,000,000 in 1903, and might be expected to reach 80,000,000 in 1904. The Comptroller of the State finances, in a report on the economic condition of Russia, made the astonishing statement that M. Witte's policy had consisted chiefly in giving subsidies drawn from the state banks to manufacturers and factories threatened with ruin, and in giving those firms large orders at high prices on behalf of the Government. Large sums had been advanced in different ways for the maintenance of unsound firms, particularly in the metal industries. The crisis of 1903 was, in the comptroller's judgment, the result of a too rapid and artificial growth of industry far in excess of the capacity of the home market to absorb its products.

The tariff experts of the customs bureau were still hard at work on a new tariff in view of the expiration of the trade treaty with Germany. The commercial treaties between the states of Central Europe and Russia were to expire on December 31, 1903. Since, however, it was necessary for one of the contracting parties to give notice of the expiration of the treaty before December 21, 1903, and as none of the Powers gave such notice, the treaties remained

in force for another year. Russia, however, announced on January 28, a decided increase in many articles. In the vast majority of cases the duties of the new tariff showed an increase of fifty per cent on those of the tariff of 1891. The duties on many articles, particularly manufactured goods, were more than doubled.

Japanese Progress

In the Far East the most notable feature of the struggle for commercial supremacy was the aggressiveness of Japan. By forging closer relations with China, the volume of their trade increased very considerably during the year, and Japan alone showed an increase of ten per cent in exports over the previous year. The establishment of a Japanese-Chinese bank capitalized at 20,000,000 yen, on much the same lines as the Russo-Chinese bank, the extension of the camphor monopoly from Formosa to the whole of the Empire, and the development of the kerosene trade, were the leading events in the expansion of Japanese industry. The commercial invasion of China was evidenced by the increased number of shops and businesses opened by Japanese in Peking and other Chinese cities. In many branches of manufacture their goods had taken the place of British and American goods; Japanese cottons, Japanese beer and mineral waters, Japanese cigarettes, Japanese imitations of all sorts of articles, soap, tooth-powder, brandy, and even bicycles. In Korea nearly every branch of industry was invaded by Japanese capital and Japanese labor. Manchuria, through the promised opening of its ports, offered a new world for the trade of Japan and other nations to conquer.



SCENES DURING KING EDWARD'S CONTINENTAL TOUR



CHAPTER II

THE INTERNATIONAL WEB

Nations pursue much the same policy as individuals when they have an object in view. A man who wishes to promote a business enterprise usually begins negotiations by inviting the person he desires to interest to luncheon or dinner. At the beginning there is little in his friendly approach to indicate the importance of the end he has in view. In somewhat the same spirit the potentates of Europe exchanged a series of friendly visits in the year 1903. On the face of these international courtesies no motive was discernible beyond the endeavor to promote friendship and good-will, yet the spokesmen for different nations persisted in reading into them ulterior designs of momentous political importance. For example, early in the year when the German Emperor sent the Crown Prince to be the guest of the Czar at St. Petersburg certain German papers went so far as to speak of a *rapprochement* the result of which would shortly appear, and the leading semi-official organ made it an occasion for stating that "Germany contemplates the leading rôle which Russia plays in the near East with confidence and approval."

King Edward's Tour

King Edward's European tour was marked throughout by tact and good fellowship. He paid the most gracious compliments without compromise, and by his resourcefulness and amiability won favor for himself and for England. On the last day of March he sailed from Portsmouth in his royal yacht the *Victoria and Albert*. Halting first at Lisbon, he was entertained by King Carlos with pageants by day and fêtes by night. While in Portugal King Edward renewed the Anglo-Portuguese alliance dating back to the reign of Edward III, thereby removing all recent causes of friction between the two countries. The Portuguese were satisfied that England did not menace

them, and they had learned to believe that England and England alone protected them against the encroachments of certain other covetous Powers. Portuguese and British interests in South Africa were recognized as being virtually identical, and the bickerings of 1889 to 1892 were forgotten. The warmth of the royal reception at Lisbon gave great annoyance to Germany, since her South African interests were in no wise furthered by Portugal's fixed friendship for England. Germany made overtures toward entering into closer relations with Spain, and with this object in view the Emperor's brother, Prince Henry, paid a visit to Madrid in May, and at the same time the German naval division fraternized with the Spanish naval officers at Vigo.

II

Considerable search was made for the motives behind the visits of King Edward and Emperor William to Rome. The former left the Quirinal but three days before the latter entered. King Edward's reception was marked by the splendor of the entertainments prepared by King Victor Emmanuel, and by popular demonstrations of Italy's gratitude for the constancy of British friendship. On April 29 the King made a call of ceremony upon Pope Leo XIII., an act of courtesy gratifying to the venerable pontiff and highly acceptable to English and Irish Catholics. The program of the Italian Government's reception to Emperor William was identical in almost every particular with that prepared for King Edward, though a certain coldness was noted in public acclamations. On May 3 the Kaiser visited the Pope, introducing the Crown Prince and Prince Eitel, who had accompanied him. It caused unfavorable comment that he went to the Vatican before going to the Quirinal, and that on the former occasion he surrounded himself with military pomp. The Triple Alliance had apparently lost ground in the people's minds, if not in diplomatic circles. Italy had evidently persuaded herself that the commercial arrangements regulating trade between herself and Germany and Austria were no longer to her interest, and it occasioned no great surprise when on May 7, shortly after the departure of William II, the Government denounced the commercial treaties depending upon the alliance.

III

King Edward was received in Paris with an enthusiasm which seemed to say that the French people had obeyed *Punch's* injunction to

"forget Fashoda and the shock of Waterloo." It was the first time that an English sovereign had visited a French ruler since Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort were received by the Third Napoleon after the Crimean war. At a state dinner at the Elysee, the King's health was proposed by President Loubet, and in reply King Edward drank to the *rapprochement* of the two peoples. Opportunities were provided for interviews with President Loubet, M. Delcassé, and other official and unofficial leaders in French politics. Two months later the President of the French Republic returned King Edward's visit, and during the three days' celebration in his honor elicited from all classes of English society hearty assurance of good-will towards the French nation. The President was accompanied by his Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Delcassé, who paved the way for the negotiation of an arbitration treaty between France and England. The King's most ardent wish, expressed in a telegram to M. Loubet, that "the *rapprochement* of our two countries should be lasting," gave rise to a feeling in both countries that the animosity of ancient standing was well nigh effaced. The political effect of the reconciliation impaired somewhat the dual alliance with Russia, took France out of a maze of diplomatic intrigue in the Far East, and went far toward establishing a community of interests between the naval Powers of Western Europe.

Jealousy of Rival Powers

Japan showed no little concern in the arrangement of international friendships affecting the status of Japan's alliance with England. But the more temperate and broad-minded views evinced little alarm over England's overtures to the ally of Japan's enemy. Germany continued to resent every new *rapprochement*. When Emperor William and King Edward had completed their respective journeys, the German press gave vent to ill feeling. It claimed that King Edward only went to Rome so that the effect of the Emperor's presence might be lessened, and that instead of returning the visit made King Edward by the Kaiser at the time of his uncle's serious illness, the latter merely went to Portugal, Italy, and France, intentionally leaving out Berlin. An official utterance published by the German papers claimed that the Emperor and the Government were grievously wounded by Eng-

land's unfriendly attitude, and concluded by stating that "the moment has come to leave England severely alone, and to teach her that no further courteous advances nor international amenities will be wasted upon her."

Considerable feeling was aroused, too, over the fact that the American squadron paid courtesies to President Loubet while missing the Kiel manoeuvres, consequently arrangements were made for a sort of German-American love-feast at Kiel in July. The Kaiser treated his American visitors most handsomely. He admired their warships; complimented their officers, and praised their President. The incident was a pleasant one, but of no political importance. The entertainment of Britain's Honorable Artillery Company by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston in the months of October, was made the occasion of frequent avowals of Anglo-American friendship and solidarity. Admiral Cotton and the officers of the United States squadron, visiting in English waters in July, were dined by King Edward at Buckingham Palace, the King using the occasion for an emphatic declaration in favor of closer relations between the United States and Great Britain.

A Royal Family Party

The jubilee of King Christian IX of Denmark served as another occasion for bringing together many of the crowned heads of Europe at a royal family party. On April 8, the King completed the eighty-fifth year of his life, and the fortieth year of his reign. Among contemporary rulers of Europe he held, after the late Queen Victoria, the record for longevity of rule. Through his children he was strongly allied to many ruling houses. Of his marriage to Princess Louise of Hesse six children were born, three boys and three girls, all of whom made brilliant and influential marriages. Christian IX has been called the father-in-law of Europe. He might also be called the provider of kings. Princess Alexandra is Queen of England; Princess Dagmar, the Dowager-Empress of Russia, widow of Alexander III, and mother of Czar Nicholas II; Princess Thyra, wife of the Duke of Cumberland, a Prince Royal of Great Britain; and Prince Waldemar, husband of Princess Marie d'Orleans, daughter of the Duke of Chartres. One of his sons has reigned as King of Greece



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since 1863 under the name of George I; and in 1858 Waldemar was elected to the throne of Bulgaria, which honor he declined. His eldest son, Crown Prince Christian, was heir-apparent to the throne of Denmark.

At this family party one of the most important guests from a political standpoint was William of Germany, whose visit was counted on to soften the sad recollections of Prussia's seizure of half of King Christian's estate at the time of the war of 1866. As a result of the Kaiser's visit, it was announced that a Danish consulate would be established at Kiel, a significant fact when one remembers that up to that time Denmark had persistently refused to create consulates in the provinces of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, which were taken from her in 1864.

Italy Returns Her Visits

Italy, having played the part of host in the spring, dispatched her King and Queen to accept the hospitality of France and England in the autumn. The demonstrations of good feeling on their arrival in Paris seemed to crown the efforts of MM. Barrere and Delcassé to promote the neighborly intercourse of the two great Latin nations. A friendly understanding with Italy had been a sort of unwritten corollary of the Anglo-French *rapprochement*. Tokens of the unbroken friendship which had so long subsisted between England and Italy were showered upon the King and Queen of Italy at the stately ceremonials at Windsor, and by the enthusiastic crowds in the streets. In thanking the Londoners for the warmth of their welcome, King Victor Emmanuel alluded to "traditions of mutual trust," and expressed the desire that the two nations might "proceed united in the path of progress and civilization." It was generally understood that Sgr. Tittoni, the Italian Foreign Minister, who accompanied the King, in his conferences with Lord Lansdowne established and confirmed the accord existing on all points between Great Britain and Italy.

Russian Courtesies

Russia extended courtesies to three nations through visits of the Czar to the Emperor of Austria, the President of the French Republic, and the Emperor of Germany. The postponement of his in-

tended visit to the King of Italy was an embarrassing contretemps, difficult to explain. It was laid to a report from M. Nelidoff, the Russian Ambassador at Rome, that the presence of the Czar might occasion hostile demonstrations on the part of the Socialists. The Ambassador was recalled in November and succeeded by Prince Urussoff, the Ambassador to France, who was said to be more acceptable to the Italian people. A letter from the Czar to M. Loubet, presented in person by Count Lamsdorff on October 30, expressed satisfaction at France's agreement with England and Italy, and gave evidence that the Franco-Russian alliance had not been weakened, though relations had been somewhat strained by France's protest against the Kishineff massacres and the Russification of Finland.

II

The meeting between the Czar and the Kaiser at Wiesbaden led to rejoicing of the most exuberant kind in Germany, on the ground that the action of the Czar in abandoning his Italian trip gave a slap at Italy, because Victor Emmanuel's visit to Paris was regarded as a belittling of the Triple Alliance. According to advices from St. Petersburg, the Czar took the initiative in bringing about the meeting, the real purpose of which was doubtless a discussion of the proposed custom arrangements with Germany. No new ties were made and no old ones strengthened by this meeting. Germany gave no greater support to the Austro-Russian policy in the Balkans than before, nor showed any stronger approval of Russian movements in the Far East; on the other hand, Russia rejected the German proposal to take part in constructing the Bagdad railway, and made no concessions in the negotiations for a new commercial treaty, and the Russian press continued to maintain that Germany was doing her best to make trouble between Russia and England.

III

The Balkan situation doubtless furnished the chief topic of conversation between Emperor Franz Josef and his royal visitors, King Edward, Emperor William, and Czar Nicholas, who followed closely on one another's heels in the fall of 1903. The first two visits were strictly friendly and unofficial, while that of the Czar was made for the express purpose of pressing upon the Sultan the program for further reforms in Macedonia. Much was made of the contrast of the unde-

monstrative passage of the King of England through the streets of Vienna, and the large forces of military and police that protected the Czar on parade. The appointment of the Emperor of Austria as field-marshal of the British army was a gracious compliment, highly gratifying to the subjects of Franz Josef.

International Friction

There was a wide difference of opinion as to the proper course to be pursued by the Powers in reference to the uprising against the Sultan's authority in the European provinces of Turkey known as Macedonia. German opinion was practically unanimous in demanding that there should be no outside interference in behalf of the Macedonians. France adopted the view that the failure of Russia and Austria to put an end to the sanguinary drama in the Balkans called for a commission of European control. England was divided between the course of permitting Turkey to stamp out the rebellion, and calling upon Europe to interfere. The efficacy of the measures proposed by Russia and Austria was questioned by the other Powers.

Reforms Forced upon Turkey

In February a scheme of reforms for the pacification of Macedonia was drawn up by these two Powers, presented to the Sultan, and adopted by him, though it proved utterly without effect. The scheme provided for (1) the appointment of an inspector-general to prevent abuses by officials; (2) the reorganization of the police force by foreign officers; (3) the use of local revenue for local needs; (4) a system of tithe collecting; (5) the abolition of farming out taxes; (6) an amnesty for those arrested for political offenses; (7) and local control by the foreign consuls. Any immediate application of these excellent remedies was rendered impracticable through the revival of the insurrection, the unwillingness and inefficiency of officials to work out the scheme, and the fact that the inspector-general was not invested with any disciplinary power. The smaller Balkan States, "which owed their existence to the sacrifices of Russia," were solemnly warned that "Russia would not shed a single drop of the blood of her sons if the Slav States should resolve to strive by revolutionary and forceful methods against timely and well-thought-out counsels to change the

existing state of affairs in the Balkan Peninsula." Inside information divulged a curious situation. While the Russian Government was impressing on the Slav States and the insurgents the hopelessness of the struggle, the Russian Consuls in control were reported to be secretly encouraging them to keep up the agitation.

II

A revised and extended program of reforms, elaborated during the visit of the Czar to the Emperor of Austria, was presented to the Porte in October. It consisted of nine measures: (1) that two civil agents, appointed by Russia and Austria respectively, should be attached for two years to the inspector-general of Macedonia "to establish control over the activity of the Ottoman local authorities in regard to the application of reforms"; (2) that "a general officer of foreign nationality in the service of the Ottoman Government accompanied by officers of the great Powers be entrusted with reorganizing the police force"; (3) that the administrative districts be rearranged and judicial institutions reorganized so as "to make them accessible to native Christians and to favor the development of local autonomies"; (4) that "mixed commissions, composed of an equal number of Christian and Mohammedan delegates, be appointed in the chief towns to investigate crimes, political and otherwise, committed during the disturbances, the Austrian and Russian consuls taking part in these commissions"; (5) that special sums be set apart by the Turkish Government for the repatriation of Christian refugees, the support of Christians who had lost their property, and the rebuilding of homes, churches, and schools; (6) that repatriated Christian inhabitants of villages burnt by Turkish troops be exempted from taxation for one year; (7) that the reforms proposed in February be immediately carried out; (8) that the *Ilavehs*, or second-class Reserve be dismissed; (9) that the formation of bands of *Bashi-Bazouks* be "absolutely prevented."

On November 25 the Russian and Austrian Embassies in Constantinople received a communication from the Porte assenting in principle to all the nine points of the amended reform scheme for Macedonia, but stipulating that in its application everything calculated to humiliate Turkey should be avoided. Beyond the appointment of the Austrian and Russian civil agents, the only step taken towards



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putting the scheme into practice at the close of the year was the decision of the Turkish Council of State on December 28, to ask the Italian Government to appoint an officer to reorganize the Macedonian police force. Outside criticism dwelt on the ominous features of making no mention of the Berlin treaty, of suggesting exclusively Austro-Russian supervision, and of restricting the scheme to Macedonia, while the insurrection had extended to the provinces of Adrianople and Albania. Lord Cranbourne, Under Foreign Secretary for England, speaking before the House of Commons, gave a good character to the new Inspector-General of Reforms, Hilmi Pasha, and urged the importance of his being allowed freedom to do his best in the three years tenure of office which the terms of the reform scheme allowed him.

Administration of the Congo Free State

English horror at Congo cruelties and English covetousness of Congo riches combined to foment an agitation resulting in 1903 in Britain's appeal to the Powers to consider charges of Belgium's maladministration of the Congo Free State. Early in the year a number of British merchants expressed their purely commercial grievances in a volume written by Mr. E. D. Morel, entitled "The British Case in the French Congo," in which the statement was made that "an existing trade had been destroyed, the colony was practically bankrupt, the revenue steadily falling, the natives were either in open rebellion or thoroughly disaffected, the military expenditure had largely increased, and the concessionaires would only last as long as they are allowed to maintain themselves by the ingenious system of fining the British firms." The Aborigines' Protection Society of England, and the new Congo Reform Association of Liverpool began a vigorous campaign on humanitarian grounds, alleging all sorts of atrocities permitted by the Belgian Government in the Congo.

I

Public sentiment was so aroused that on March 2, Sir Charles Dilke asked the British Government in the House of Commons whether it intended taking steps to enlist the coöperation of the signatories to the Berlin Act of 1884 with a view to suppressing abuses in the Congo Free State. The Government replied that it did not then contemplate such action. The following day the Associated Chambers

of Commerce passed resolutions to press their grievances against the Congo State upon the British Government, and a week later Lord Cranbourne replied that the Government would not interfere. In April the Baptist Union, at a large meeting in London, protested against the concessionaire system and the practice of cruelty. Agitation was kept warm by the press, and the point of view of the agitator was ably presented by Mr. W. T. Stead:

"The Congo Free State, although previously recognized by some of the signatory Powers, acquired its international status by its formal acceptance of the principles and provisions of the act of Berlin, and in doing so came under the surveillance and control of the Powers whose conditional mandate it accepted. The assembled Powers, believing King Leopold's solemn protestations that he wished for nothing but to abolish slavery, suppress slave raids, put down cannibalism, defend the rights and the properties of the natives, develop trade, and open the heart of Central Africa to the commerce of the whole world, recognized his right to reign over the Congo. To-day, after eighteen years, the astonished world has been rudely awakened up to the fact that in the Congo Free State this sovereign, King Leopold, has established a system which, at every point, is the exact antithesis and negation of every principle laid down at Berlin. In place of disinterestedness, we see dividends. In place of the old indigenous slavery, there is a new slavery infinitely more detestable. The Arab slave-raiders have been suppressed, but the State has taken over their methods and carries on raids to acquire 'slaves of the State' throughout the whole enormous domain. Instead of suppressing cannibalism, the hateful practice has been carried by its soldiers into regions where human flesh was never eaten. Instead of defending the rights and properties of the natives, the State has at one blow annihilated all their rights, confiscated all their properties, and converted them into the unwilling bond-slaves of the State. Instead of developing trade, it has suppressed it. Instead of throwing the door open to the traders of the world, it treats every foreign trader as a thief who dares to buy and sell within the regions within which it has established monopolies expressly forbidden by the charter of its existence."

According to Mr. Stead, "King Leopold has invested first and last about £1,000,000 in floating and subsidizing the parent enterprise.

Upon this sum he has not received a penny dividend. But under the cover of this benevolent investment of a million sterling professedly spent to secure the open door to open up Africa to the free trade of all nations, he has created monopolies covering a million square miles of territory, reserving to himself a minimum of fifty per cent of their profits."

II

The most effective weapon used in the campaign was the speech of an American Congo missionary delivered before the Aborigines' Protection Society in London on May 6, 1903. The Rev. W. H. Morrison, of Lexington, Virginia, had just returned from Brussels, where he had asked for and been refused land concessions with which he demanded as special privileges that "no taxes shall be levied and no soldiers drawn from certain populations." He declared that grants of land could no longer be obtained by other than favored individuals or corporations. He preferred against the Belgian administration of the Congo a series of grave charges which were telegraphed to the press of Europe and America. The next day a member of the House of Commons again inquired what the Government intended doing in the matter. Finally on May 20, the House of Commons, after a debate which the Continental press referred to as a "parliamentary raid," passed resolutions requesting "His Majesty's Government to confer with the other Powers, signatories of the Berlin Act by virtue of which the Congo Free State exists, in order that measures may be adopted to abate the evils prevalent in that State."

On August 8, Lord Lansdowne addressed a dispatch to the Powers signatory to the Berlin Act setting forth grievances which had been brought to the attention of the British Government and suggesting that the time had come when the Powers should consider whether the system of trade prevailing in the State was in harmony with the provisions of the Berlin Act, particularly whether the system of making grants of vast areas of territory was permissible if the effect of such grants was in practice to create a monopoly of trade by excluding all persons other than the concession-holder from trading with the natives in that area. Three of the Powers, the United States, Italy, and Turkey acknowledged the receipt of Lord Lansdowne's dispatch, though all maintained a discreet silence regarding its contents.

III

The Government of the Congo Free State delivered its reply to the Powers on September 17. The policy of the administration was held to be on all vital points of the treatment of black labor and the granting of concessions absolutely the same as the policy and proceedings of France, Germany, and England in those matters, and in strict accord with the letter of the Berlin Act. According to Congo authorities, the radical defect in the case presented by the British Government was in the failure to recognize the status of the Congo State. The Congo State was in law and fact a sovereign State. Its rights in international law were as great as those of England. It was not created by the Berlin conference. It existed before such a conference was contemplated. It was recognized by the United States and by France seven months before that conference assembled at Berlin. The Congo State was bound in no greater or less degree than England herself by the provisions of the Berlin Act, and those provisions could not be modified to its special detriment except by a new meeting of the signatory Powers.

The charges came under two heads: breaches of humanity and breaches of freedom of trade. The first were based on the assumption that the Congo State employed cannibal troops. In answer to this the defense pointed out that the State had always treated cannibalism as a crime punishable by death. It was further charged that the blacks were compelled to supply "forced labor," another term for slavery, and that the Congo State imposed taxes on its black subjects. This charge was admitted and defended on the ground that forced labor was necessary, and that since a negro had no money he had to pay tax in labor, but that the labor required in the Congo State was not excessive. Belgium pointed out that precisely the same measures had been taken in the British possessions in Africa.

Turning to the other branch of the attack, namely, that instead of developing trade the State had suppressed it and had established monopolies forbidden by the charter of its existence, the defense on this ground was that the State's right of proprietorship carried with it the power of managing, leasing, or selling the State domain as it thought fit. Altogether the Belgian reply was a stringent denial of any violation of the Berlin Act. With the exception of the Socialist

party, the members of the Chamber endorsed King Leopold's administration. Their attitude was one of threat in which they warned the other signatories of the Berlin Act against making themselves parties to the attack by England. They charged the attack to the self interest of the Liverpool merchants. England had taken the step in the hope of referring the subject to The Hague Arbitration tribunal, but the rebuff of silence administered by the Powers discouraged further action. At the end of December, consular investigations were made public, which the British Government claimed fully justified its attack.

Public opinion on the Continent and even in the United States acknowledged the force of the Belgian reply to the British accusations. Characteristic comment pointed to the profitable manner in which the State had been managed and charged the attack to "insatiable English greed." Great credit was given the local administrators for the growth of the country's export trade, which had increased from a million francs in 1887 to fifty-five millions in 1903. The advantage to Great Britain of the acquisition of this territory was not overlooked. The Free State, which is about one-third the size of the United States, lies squarely across the heart of Africa with an outlet to the sea on the west coast. It separates the British African Empire—the Sudan and the Nile country on the north from the Cape and the Boer war territorial acquisitions on the south. As one writer put it, it is as if the Louisiana Purchase, owned by a small country, say Portugal, divided the United States. It is little wonder then that France and Germany suspected England of striving to realize the ambitions of Cecil Rhodes, who prophesied that his scheme for linking Egypt with the Cape would "give to England Africa, the whole of it."

The Dardanelles Incident

Alleged violation of treaty obligations caused considerable excitement in January when Great Britain dispatched a note to the Porte complaining that Turkey, four months before, had allowed four dismantled Russian torpedo boats to pass through the channel connecting the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Turkey defended the action on the ground that the Russian vessels were not vessels of war. Great Britain made the strongest objection to the action, and even went so

far as to urge that the existing treaty which closed the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations should be replaced by a treaty which would permit the access of all on equal terms. The English public resented the attitude of the Government respecting the incident, and charged the Government with pursuing a policy extremely distasteful to the people for the purpose of opposing Germany, since that Power declared that she had no intention of protesting against Russia's contravention of public law. In the United States the feeling prevailed that the great and vital issue to every country involved was the question whether a civilized nation could thus, on the flimsiest pretext, abrogate a solemn treaty obligation. Russia's action in this matter was regarded by European publicists as a hard blow to international probity and honor. It was urged by some that the Turkish Government lacked the facilities for enforcing the treaty law against foreign warships, and that the incident would not have occurred if the plans for strengthening the Dardanelles defenses, devised by German officers several years before, had been carried out.

England's Monroe Doctrine

England announced a Monroe doctrine of her own through a speech by Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords on May 5, in which he declared: "I say without hesitation that we should regard the establishment of a naval base, or a fortified port, in the Persian Gulf as a grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal." Lord Lansdowne preceded this announcement by reviewing British interests in the Persian Gulf, and contending that as regards navigation Great Britain held a position different from that of the other powers since British enterprise and expenditure of life and money had opened the Gulf to the commerce of the world, and because the protection of the sea route to India necessitated British predominance in the Gulf.

The only place in the Gulf which is actually British territory is one square mile at Bassadore, and the only territory over which a British protectorate has been formally proclaimed is the Island of Bahrein. But since she put down piracy and the slave trade nearly a century ago, Britain has continued to perform the duty of buoying, lighting, and policing the Gulf, and has enjoyed the monopoly of its

trade. According to the consular report of the year, out of 145 ships which entered the port of Bushire, 138 were British.

The German censors took the ground that Lord Lansdowne had offered a wanton affront to Russia, but the plain intimation that England intended to control the Persian Gulf and protect her route to India and the East generally did not seem to excite resentment either at St. Petersburg or at Paris. Naturally, the United States viewed with favor a doctrine which rested upon a theory almost identical with the policy of Monroeism. Great Britain, it was felt, could not question the latter principle while maintaining the Lansdowne doctrine, since her motive in protecting the sea route to India so nearly corresponded with the American motive in excluding European powers from American territory.

As if to emphasize Lord Lansdowne's declaration, Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, made a tour of the Persian Gulf in November, in the *Hardinge*, accompanied by four cruisers. At Bandar, Bushire, there occurred an embarrassing misunderstanding. The Persian Governor had proposed a dinner in honor of the viceroy, but he omitted first to pay him a visit on board the *Hardinge*, and consequently Lord Curzon sailed away without landing. It was asserted in England, and likewise on the continent, that Russia had induced Persia to administer this rebuff to the Viceroy of India. For the Persian Governor to have paid a first visit to England's representative would have been regarded, according to the Oriental code of etiquette, as an admission of Britain's claim to supremacy in the Persian Gulf, a claim which Russia wished Persia emphatically to deny. Russia distinctly strengthened her position in Persia during the year; she tightened her financial hold by a favorable new commercial treaty, which prevented the concession of any material advantages to England. The new commercial treaty between Persia and Great Britain, signed in February, shortly after Lord Downe had been sent to Teheran to invest the Shah with the Order of the Garter, promised no new benefits to England, but disastrously affected the Indian tea trade.

Opening the Ports of Manchuria

Diplomacy scored a strong point in 1903 in the treaty opening the ports of Manchuria to foreign trade. It was a victory for the firm and

consistent policy of Secretary Hay of the State Department. Since the Boxer war he had worked steadily for this object, calling Russia to account for every fresh violation of the memorandum of 1901, fighting England's diplomatic battles and upholding England's commercial interests as well as our own, tenaciously adhering to the doctrine of a fair field and no favor. In April the Russian Charge d'Affaires at Peking, M. Plancon, presented seven demands as conditions for carrying out the Manchurian Convention (see OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. I). These conditions forbade China (1) to transfer any portion of the restored territories to another Power; (2) to open new treaty ports in Manchuria; (3) to permit new consuls without the previous consent of the Russian Government; or (4) to employ in any branch of her administration in Manchuria other foreigners than Russians. Early in the year great stress had been laid on the fact that China had conceded to Russia the appointment of a Russian to the charge of customs at Dalny. The conditions further required (5) the Russian control of the existing telegraph line between Port Arthur and Mukden, (6) the payment of customs duties into the Russo-Chinese Bank at Newchwang, (7) the organization of a sanitary commission under Russian control.

II

Great Britain, the United States, and Japan united in advising China to refuse the Russian demands and in protesting against them to the Russian Government. Shortly afterward Lord Lansdowne received assurances through the Russian Ambassador in London that the Russian Government had no knowledge of the reported convention nor of its alleged conditions, that it disclaimed all intention of seeking exclusive privileges in Manchuria, that the proceedings at Peking concerned Manchuria alone and the guarantee of Russian interests in the province after the withdrawal of Russian troops. Similar assurances made to the United States Government led Secretary Hay, on May 1, to dispatch a letter of regret that there should have been "a temporary misconception of Russia's position." Immediately afterward it was announced that United States Minister Conger, at Peking, had received from the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* a copy of the demands above stated, and the Peking correspondent of the London *Times* cabled the exact text of those conditions to England. The disclosure of Russia's

tortuous policy excited considerable feeling in Great Britain and America. The Government, however, confined its action to the publication, on May 3, of Secretary Hay's statement that, while Minister Conger's report justified the Government's previous act of protest, the United States felt bound to accept Russia's official explanation.

III

Secretary Hay continued to press negotiations for a commercial treaty that would open at least two ports of Manchuria to the world's trade, and in September, the Russian Ambassador at Peking, announced that Newchwang and Mukden would be evacuated on October 8, and that on that date Mukden and Ta-tung-kau would be open to foreign trade, on condition that China would accept points 1 and 5 of M. Plancon's demands, grant no concession to England not granted to Russia, and agree not to increase the tariff on goods entering Manchuria by railway. The treaty was signed at Shanghai on October 8, and the Japanese Commercial Treaty, opening the port of Antung, was signed the next day. The United States Senate ratified the former treaty on December 18. Pressure was put upon China by Great Britain, Japan, and the United States to ratify both treaties, but their importunity had not prevailed to secure this end by the close of the year. Popular opinion prevailed that the three countries had been hoodwinked by a familiar form of Oriental state-craft. Nobody seemed to believe that Russia would in good faith keep the agreement she had been pressed into making, and in fact the date set for the evacuation of Manchuria and the opening of its ports came and went without any movement on Russia's part to keep her promises.

The Anglo-French Agreement

A signal victory for arbitration was won in the Anglo-French treaty, or, rather, agreement, to submit to the arbitration of The Hague Tribunal questions like those of the Newfoundland fisheries, or the delimitation of the Niger frontiers. The arrangement, it was expressly stipulated, did not apply to questions involving vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the contracting parties, nor to questions which affected the interests of a third Power. As a token and safeguard of the growing friendship between the two nations its moral effect was of greatest importance, and limited as the conditions of refer-

ence were, they undoubtedly lent a stimulus to the movement in favor of arbitration and permanent amity. Moreover, the agreement was highly satisfactory to the French element in Canada.

The treaty, signed on October 14, could be traced indirectly to the interchange of courtesies between the rulers of the two nations, directly to the exchange of visits between the Arbitration Group of the French Chamber of Deputies in London and certain members of the House of Commons in Paris. Important propagandist work in this direction had been conducted in both countries for a number of years by Mr. Thomas Barclay, an international lawyer and at one time President of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris. In the beginning of 1903, Mr. Barclay established committees to prosecute this work in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other important places. Later in the year he conducted a campaign in the United States, in favor of a treaty on the same lines as the rejected Anglo-American Treaty of 1897. Mr. Barclay pronounced the Anglo-French Treaty "one of the greatest international events in history." "It must be viewed," he said, "not by the extent of its provisions, but as an expression of the desire of the Governments of two countries to carry out the distinctly expressed wish of the two nations to do something toward removing insignificant differences from exposure to liability of becoming inflamed into national questions." Appropriately on Christmas day, there was signed an arbitration treaty between France and Italy, identical in scope and character with the Anglo-French treaty.

Alaskan Boundary Award

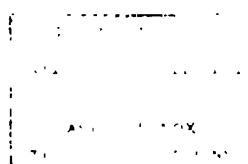
Credit and honor are both due the United States and Great Britain for the settlement of the Alaskan Boundary dispute. The adjustment, though effected through adjudication, not arbitration, was none the less a triumph of amity. On January 24 a treaty was signed at Washington by Secretary Hay and the British Ambassador, Sir Michael Herbert, which provided for referring this long-standing dispute to a commission of six jurists, three to be appointed by the United States and three by Great Britain. Since a treaty when signed must go to the Senate for ratification, and courtesy to that body requires that its exact contents be withheld until the Senate has considered it, curiosity as to its terms ran high here and in Canada. The pub-



LORD ALVERSTONE



SIR MICHAEL HERBERT



lic was informed that the matter would be considered at an extra session of the Senate called after the fourth of March. It was something of a surprise, therefore, when on February 11 the friends of the measure, enlightened on doubtful points by Senator Lodge, perpetrated what they called "a clever strategem." Taking advantage of the fact that nearly all of the known opponents of the treaty, mainly the Senators from the Northwestern States, were absent from the Senate Chamber, an executive session was called, a few remarks on the subject made, a vote taken and the treaty was declared ratified without a roll call or a list of the yeas and nays. The friends of the measure assured their colleagues that the arrangement was not for arbitration and did not question the American position. A prompt demand for a reconsideration was refused.

There was some discussion in the executive session of the Senate with reference to making public the treaty negotiated by Secretary Hay and Sir Michael Herbert. Owing to the fact that a number of articles were in French, it was decided to await a translation before making the treaty public. The secretary of the Senate was directed to procure a translation, the principal clauses of which were as follows:

Article I provided that the boundary line tribunal should be immediately appointed, and should consist of six impartial jurists, three to be named by the President of the United States and three by his Britannic majesty. All questions must receive a majority vote of the tribunal. Provision was made for the appointment of other jurists to fill vacancies and for officers of the tribunal, including scientific experts and agents.

Article II provided that a written or printed case of the two parties and other documents, correspondence and evidence should be submitted to the two parties within two months of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. Two months afterward the counter case might be submitted, but the tribunal might extend the time if it so desired. Provisions also were made for the presentation of copies of evidence and arguments.

Article III provided that the tribunal should consider in the settlement of the questions submitted to its decision the treaty between Great Britain and Russia of 1825, and the treaty between the United States and Russia of March 30, 1867, "and particularly Articles III, IV and

V of the first mentioned treaty." Articles III and IV of the Anglo-Russian treaty were quoted as describing the line of demarcation between Russia and the British possessions.

Another clause of the new treaty declared, "The tribunal shall also take into consideration any action of the several governments or of their respective representatives preliminary or subsequent to the conclusion of said treaties so far as the same tends to show the original and effective understanding of the parties in respect to the limits of their several territorial jurisdictions under and by virtue of the provisions of said treaty."

Article VI provided that the tribunal should answer and decide seven questions, relating to Articles III, IV, and V of the treaty of 1825.

There was a strong feeling in Canada that Great Britain, in negotiating this treaty, had been indifferent to Canadian interests. From the beginning, the Government at Ottawa had held out for an arrangement which would have called in an umpire, presumably from an outside country. President Roosevelt, however, steadily refused to submit the territory so long held in undisputed occupation by the United States, to a general board of arbitration. It was distinctly understood that the commission was a body having purely legal functions of interpretation, the principal matter with which they were to deal, being the interpretation of the Treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia dealing with the Russian frontier.

I

There was some reason to fear that this was the beginning of a more serious Alaskan dispute, since the treaty of 1825 had been subject to so many different interpretations. Doubtless if the United States on purchasing Alaska in 1867 had gone to the trouble and expense of surveying the territory and erecting boundary monuments, there would never have been any challenge of the American claim. Going back to the beginning in 1825 Russia and England entered into a treaty to establish a boundary line between the possessions of Russia on the Pacific and the interior British possessions of the Hudson Bay Company, and it was perfectly understood by all parties that Russia had an unbroken strip of land along the main continent which gave her control of all the sounds, channels, and inland seas of that broken coast.

and protected her fur interests upon the islands from the Hudson Bay Company. From that time until Russia sold Alaska to the United States the boundary set down in the treaty and shown in all the maps and charts had never been disputed. Naturally the United States in purchasing Alaska purchased Russia's right and title, and at that time England agreed that the boundary line set down on the Russian and American maps between Alaska and the British possessions was the correct one.

II

The discovery of gold in the Klondike was at the root of the controversy. The Americans who joined the gold rush were not slow to discover that the Canadians had put an entirely new construction upon the treaty of 1825, a construction that perceptibly narrowed the width of the American shore strip and gave the Canadians direct access to several deep water bays and harbors. The coast of Alaska is bordered for nearly two hundred miles by an archipelago of rocky islands divided from each other and from the shore by narrow, deep channels, while the coast of the mainland is broken up by inlets like the fiords of Norway often running nearly a hundred miles into the land. One of the longest of these, called the Lynn Canal, affords access to the Klondike over the summit of the Chilkoot and Chilkat Passes, which lie a few miles north of the Canal. At the Portland Canal the topography is similar. Now the Canadian claims seized the whole head of the Lynn Canal in order to give direct access to the Klondike through a British port, and Canada offered to surrender to the American contention all the rest of the coast provided it could retain Pyramid Harbor upon the Lynn Canal.

This gives the key to the difficulty of attempting to settle these claims in a general court of arbitration, since it would have been impossible to find a disinterested court. Every nation would have been interested in trading directly with the British gold fields instead of passing through American territory and paying the Dingley tariff duties on their shipments to the Klondike. The whole region was filled with American settlements. There was a substantial monopoly of furnishing supplies, and the Government could not well put American interests in jeopardy by submitting them to arbitration by other countries.

The great rush to the Klondike and the increase of population at Skaguay and Dyea threatened to strain the relations between the two countries when the Canadian authorities attempted to treat as English territory what had previously been recognized as belonging to the United States. A temporary *modus vivendi* between the United States and England, providing for an arbitrary location of custom houses, averted immediate trouble, but proved rather a serious mistake in the long run. Willingness to sign such an agreement and to renew it year by year seemed only to fan the flame of the Canadian's intent to acquire a deep sea port on the Lynn Canal, and doubtless had the effect of supporting Canada's claim in the eyes of the British Government.

III

The Commission of "six impartial jurists of repute" appointed to settle the dispute, assembled in London on September 3, began the hearing of oral arguments on September 15, and reached an agreement at noon on October 20. The British members were Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir Louis Jetté, K. C., of Quebec; and A. B. Aylesworth, K. C., of Toronto. The American commissioners were Elihu Root, Secretary of War; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; and ex-Senator George Turner of the State of Washington. Lord Chief Justice Alverstone was appointed chairman of the commission, and John W. Foster was the leading counsel for the United States.

The prepared statement of the case for Great Britain was directed principally to the demonstration of the fifth of the seven contentions, the sum of which was that the boundary might cross inlets and still follow the coast.

"Great Britain contends that the tribunal is to decide whether it was an essential characteristic of the *lisière* or strip in dispute that it should not be traversed by inlets, in other words whether the eastern boundary should necessarily run around the heads of all inlets, the definition of which is almost vital to the entire question. The words 'coast' and 'ocean,' Great Britain contends, refer to the same thing. The windings of coast are those of a coast which limits the ocean.

"The American contention of 'tidal water' is dismissed as out of

the question. The tribunal, it is argued, should draw a boundary line along the summits of the mountains parallel to the coast of the ocean. It is urged that when Russia proposed to discard reference to the mountains and take a ten-league distance as a rule Great Britain refused to consent. Great Britain repudiates the argument of the United States that England is entitled to none of the inlets. She insists that she ought to obtain the heads of all important inlets."

Mr. Foster's presentment of the American case laid stress on the fact that the claims had invariably been based upon the scope of the title conveyed by Russia, and only disputed by Canada as a sort of afterthought and upon a variety of inconsistent grounds. "The main feature of the controversy hinges upon the interpretation of a treaty made in 1825 between Russia and Great Britain, defining the limitations of the territory, known as Alaska, over which Russia had jurisdiction. It was provided in that treaty that Russia should control and have possession of the territory of Alaska from the coast to a chain of mountains not more than ten marine leagues distant from the coast and that where the line of demarcation was not defined by a mountain range the boundary should be a line ten marine leagues inland from and following the sinuosities of the coast. The United States Government has contended that this gave it control over not only the coast line, but over all inlets and for a distance of ten marine leagues inland from their heads and following their sinuosities. The British Government has contended that the line of demarcation followed the ocean coast line and did not follow the lines of the inlets. Under the British contention, that government would secure possession of ports on waterways extending more than ten marine leagues inland from the coast. This provision of the Russian-British treaty of 1825 was incorporated in the treaty of 1867 between Russia and the United States, by which Alaska was ceded by Russia to the American Government."

Text of the Alaskan Award

The United States practically permitted the Lord Chief Justice of England to decide this controversy, and it is a tribute to his high sense of judicial duty that he was able to sink his natural predilections and decide the case wholly upon his conviction of its merits. His decision

seemed to prove that the Canadian contention had no substantial grounds. It granted nearly all the points for which Mr. Foster contended, and sustained his interpretation of the Treaty of 1825. Its effect was, in brief, to exclude the Canadians from all the ocean inlets as far south as the Portland Channel, thus cutting them off from the Yukon and other gold fields; it assigned the two outer and smaller islands of the Portland Channel — Kannagunut and Sitklan — to the United States, but the two inner and much larger islands — Pearse and Wales — to Canada.

The decision of the tribunal was made up of answers to the seven questions contained in the Treaty of 1903, constituting the tribunal. The questions and answers follow:

Question 1 — What is intended as the point of commencement of the line?

Answer — The line commences at Cape Muzon.

Question 2 — What channel is the Portland Channel?

Answer — The Portland Channel passes north of Pearse and Wales islands and enters the ocean through Tongas Passage, between Wales and Sitkian islands.

Question 3 — What course should the line take from the point of commencement to the entrance to Portland Channel?

Answer — A straight line to the middle of the entrance of Tongas Passage.

Question 4 — What point on the fifty-sixth parallel is the line to be drawn from the head of the Portland Channel, and what course should it follow between these points?

Answer — A straight line between Salmon and Bear rivers direct to the fifty-sixth parallel of latitude.

Question 5 — In extending the line of demarcation northward from said point on the parallel of the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, following the crest of the mountains situated parallel to the coast until its intersection with the 141st degree of longitude west of Greenwich, subject to the condition that if such line should anywhere exceed the distance of ten marine leagues from the ocean, then the boundary between the British and the Russian territory should be formed by a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast and distant therefrom not more than ten marine leagues, was it the intention and meaning of said con-

vention of 1825 that there should remain in the exclusive possession of Russia a continuous fringe or strip of coast on the mainland not exceeding ten marine leagues in width, separating the British possessions from the bays, ports, inlets, havens and waters of the ocean, and extending from the said point on the fifty-sixth degree of latitude north to a point where such line of demarcation should intersect the 141st degree of longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich?

Answered in the affirmative.

Question 6—If the foregoing question should be answered in the negative, and in the event of the summit of such mountains proving to be in places more than ten marine leagues from the coast, should the width of the *lisière* which was to belong to Russia be measured (1) from the mainland coast to the ocean strictly so-called, along a line perpendicular thereto, or (2) was it the intention and meaning of the said convention that where the mainland coast is indented by deep inlets forming part of the territorial waters of Russia, the width of the *lisière* was to be measured (a) from the line of the general direction of the mainland coast, or (b) from the line separating the waters of the ocean from the territorial waters of Russia, or (c) from the heads of the aforesaid inlets?

Required no answer after the fifth question had been answered in the affirmative.

Question 7—What, if any exist, are the mountains referred to as situated parallel to the coast, which mountains, when within ten marine leagues from the coast, are declared to form the eastern boundary?

Answer—The majority of the tribunal have selected the line of peaks starting at the head of Portland Canal and running along the high mountains, on the outer edge of the mountains, shown on the maps of survey made in 1903, extending to Mount Whipple, and thence along what is known as the Hunter line of 1878, crossing the Stikine River about twenty-four miles from its mouth, thence northerly along the high peaks to Kate's Needle; from Kate's Needle to the Devil's Thumb. The tribunal stated that there was not sufficient evidence, owing to the absence of a complete survey, to identify the mountains which correspond to those intended by the treaty. This contemplates a further survey of that portion by the two governments. From the vicinity of Devil's Thumb the line runs to the continental watershed,

thence through White and Taiya, or Chilkoot, passes westerly to a mountain indicated on the map attached to the treaty as 6,850 feet, thence to another mountain 5,800 feet, and from that point in a somewhat curved line across the head of the glaciers to Mount Fairweather. This places the Canadian outpost on the upper water of Chilkat River in British territory, and the mining camps of Porcupine and Glacier Creek in American territory. From Mount Fairweather the line passes north on high peaks along the mountains indicated on the map by Mounts Pinta, Ruhama and Vancouver to Mount St. Elias.

Action of the Canadian Commissioners

The two Canadian members of the Commission, Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. Aylesworth, were deeply incensed over the award and refused to sign the majority report, expressing their own views fully in a published statement. They plainly intimated that Lord Alverstone's action had not been judicial, but diplomatic. They affirmed that he had agreed with them that Canada ought to have all four islands and then determined otherwise without informing them of his change of opinion. They also alleged that strategically the two smaller islands in the Portland Channel would neutralize the larger ones given to Canada. Public sentiment in Canada for the most part supported their attitude, though the saner element did not endorse the threats of the press to desert the mother country nor its charges of "treasonable diplomatic tendencies" against Lord Alverstone. The publication of a careful statement by the Lord Chief Justice, setting forth the reasons which led him to his conclusions, did much to dispel the idea that he had been willing to sacrifice Canada for the sake of keeping the goodwill of the United States. Mr. Aylesworth, at a banquet tendered him on his return to Toronto, made a wise, conciliatory, and loyal speech which further reduced the tension of Canadian feeling, and helped to reconcile his countrymen to the adverse decision.

In England and America there was general rejoicing that an old occasion of irritation had been removed. "The result is satisfactory in every way," declared the President in his annual message. "It is of great material advantage to our people in the far Northwest. It has removed from the field of discussion and possible danger a ques-

tion liable to become more acutely accentuated with each passing year. Finally, it has furnished a signal proof of the fairness and good will with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty, and by their nature incapable of submission to a third Power for adjudication."

Settlement of the Venezuelan Imbrolio

The Conference of the Interparliamentary Union for International Arbitration, which met at Vienna September 7, passed various resolutions looking toward the wider application of the principle of arbitration. A Swiss delegate recalled that when the United States had tendered its good offices in the South African war, that Great Britain had replied that she would regard such an offer as an unfriendly act. He proposed the resolution that the offer of good offices should never be considered an unfriendly act. The Hague Tribunal was strongly recommended. The general recognition and respect that it needed as the supreme international court of justice and peace had already been accorded it by submitting the Venezuelan claims to it for final settlement. It is noteworthy that this, the second case tried before The Hague court and the first important use to be made of that instrument for peace, involved the interests and called together representatives of no less than twelve nations. It is also noteworthy that the credit for this important step in the legal settlement of international disputes was due to the United States and the good sense of its President. The German Emperor had been loud in his demands that President Roosevelt act as arbitrator, the plan pleased the two other allies, England and Italy. President Castro, on behalf of Venezuela, clung to it tenaciously. President Roosevelt and his advisers declined the honor, and the Powers finally consented to refer the involved principles of international law to The Hague, after agreement upon certain preliminary conditions.

I

The year 1902 closed with that absurdity called "the pacific blockade of Venezuela," by the allied Powers, Germany, England and Italy, fully described in OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II. In spite of the fact that the United States, backed by the Prime Minister of England, had declared such a thing "an absurd impossibility," the so-called pacific

blockade continued throughout the first month of the new year, telling seriously on Venezuela. The treasury at Caracas was empty. Provisions were so scarce that President Castro abolished customs regulations on the Colombian frontier—a shrewd move toward restoring good feeling with Colombia while providing food for his people. Affairs took an ominous turn on January 17, when the German cruiser *Panther* bombarded Fort San Carlos, at the entrance of Lake Maracaibo. During a brisk engagement she was met by so heavy a fire that she was forced to retire, but returning, reinforced by the *Falke* and the *Vineta*, she succeeded in silencing the little fort after several days' bombardment.

General Bello, the Commander of Fort San Carlos, gave his word that "the bombardment was without any provocation on our part, without previous notification or the delivering of an ultimatum." The Germans in the engagement claimed that the *Panther* was fired upon as she was entering the channel to the lake. The American Associated Press gave out the statement that the *Panther's* bombardment was by express orders from Berlin, a statement that gained authenticity from the fact that Mr. Melville E. Stone, the head of the Associated Press, was in Berlin at the time and on good terms with the newly-appointed Ambassador. The report of the affair stated that the guns of Fort San Carlos had returned the *Panther's* fire, and had driven off the German gunboat within an hour. Naturally, following so closely upon the heels of the overtures to arbitration, the action of the *Panther* was regarded as a mistake or a misunderstanding. It was not generally believed that this reckless use of guns had been ordered from Berlin. The impression prevailed that the misnamed "pacific blockade" had offered the occasion for the Maracaibo episode.

II

Immediate measures for lifting the blockade were demanded. Representatives of the Powers were summoned to a conference at Washington. Venezuela instead of sending one of her own diplomats, sent Mr. Herbert W. Bowen, the American Minister at Caracas, to act for her with full power. Mr. Bowen came determined to effect a settlement by direct negotiation with the European commissioners, and doing away with a protracted trial before a court of arbitration—a mode of procedure acceptable to the German Government, which



BARON SPECK VON STERNBERG

German Ambassador to the United States

had reluctantly consented to submitting the case to The Hague, and had recalled its ambassador for bungling matters in the Venezuelan imbroglio. Ostensibly Dr. von Holleben was given "leave of absence" on account of impaired health. In all probability he had incurred disfavor by failing to make good his assurance that President Roosevelt would accept the Kaiser's urgent invitation to act as arbitrator. The President's refusal left the German Ambassador in the embarrassing position of having urged the Kaiser to make unacceptable suggestions to the American Government.

Opinion prevailed at the German court and elsewhere that Baron Speck von Sternberg, who was ordered to proceed at once to the United States as Special Commissioner in the Venezuelan matter and appointed to remain as German Ambassador, was in close touch with the Kaiser, and a *persona graviora* to the United States. The Baron was already a popular and influential figure at Washington. He had been military attaché to the legation for many years. He had married an American wife, possessed many friends in America, and was expected to maintain the sort of relation between the two countries that was emphasized by the visit of Prince Henry. It was doubtless a deliberate expression of sentiment on the part of the German Government that was contained in the statement of the new Ambassador, transmitted to America through the Associated Press, of the enthusiastic desire of the German Emperor to maintain and extend the friendship between Germany and the United States.

Referring to the Venezuelan matter, the new German Ambassador made the following declaration which became very important in view of the Maracaibo incident: "One of my immediate duties will be to join in the negotiations in Washington for a final understanding with Venezuela. Although this question is not susceptible to instant settlement, Germany approaches it with the most tolerant views, since President Castro has shown a willingness to recognize that we have grounds for grievance. The position of the controversy is such that we may expect a conclusion measurably satisfactory to each Government interested. The German Government feels grateful to the United States for the part they have taken in advancing the adjustment that is now clearly in prospect. The Venezuelan affair will cause no further difficulty if all persons concerned are of the Roosevelt type.

The Monroe doctrine is an unwritten law with Americans, and President Roosevelt interprets it as a measure for making peace."

III

Baron Speck von Sternberg had not reached America when Mr. Bowen arrived in Washington on January 18, but Venezuela's representative, fresh from troubled Caracas, lost no time awaiting the coming of the German plenipotentiary. He laid his proposals before the British Ambassador, the German *chargé d'affaires*, and the representatives of other countries interested in the settlement. He demanded, first of all, the abandonment of the blockade. In return, Venezuela guaranteed the payment of the claims against her by placing thirty per cent of the customs revenues of her two principal ports, La Guayra and Porto Cabello, under control of her creditors. Only a portion of the revenue was offered because a greater part was already hypothecated as security for other foreign loans.

After prolonged haggling the negotiations at Washington were brought to an end on February 13, when the preliminary protocols were signed by the representatives of nations interested, Sir Michael Herbert signing for England, Baron von Sternberg for Germany, Signor Mayor des Planches for Italy, and Mr. Bowen for Venezuela. Two days later the ships of the blockading squadrons left Venezuelan waters and the "pacific" farce was ended. Protocols with the unallied Powers were then framed by Mr. Bowen and signed in quick succession within the course of the next few weeks. Provision was made for the payment of all claims by the method above stated. The order of preference in paying these claims was to be decided by The Hague tribunal. In all the protocols it was expressly stated that the United States, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Sweden, and Mexico were permitted to appear before The Hague Court as creditors of Venezuela, their claims in no wise inferior to those of the three countries that had made war to seize the assets of Venezuela.

England, Germany, and Italy had originally demanded a cash payment from Venezuelans of \$400,000 each as a preliminary to any settlement. When their representatives at Washington agreed to take \$27,500 each, the German Government refused to sustain its representative, and insisted upon a cash payment of \$340,000. Venezuelans claimed this demand to be intended to defeat negotiations, protract

the blockade, and prevent the case from going to The Hague. Germany's plan was blocked by the British Government, which had become so disgusted with the alliance that it urged the immediate acceptance of the protocols regardless of Germany's demand. The arrangement was concluded by giving to Germany, whose claims were less valid than those of England and Italy, a cash payment of the demanded \$340,000, while the other two nations accepted \$27,500 each. While Germany was insisting on her proposition, the German ambassador made public the statement that "nowhere was the Monroe doctrine more respected or more highly regarded as a peacemaker for the Western Hemisphere than in Germany."

IV

Germany's conduct was regarded at home with satisfaction. Popular sentiment found expression in the press's derision at England's discomfiture and its boasting of the power of "the mailed fist." An undercurrent of feeling, however, ran strongly in the other direction. Elsewhere Germany's action was regarded, to quote the apt simile of Dr. Albert Shaw, as that "of the greedy, spoiled, quarrelsome boy at the boarding school table who demands the largest and hottest potato and insists upon being served first — his better-bred and higher-spirited comrades looking on with anger and undisguised contempt." France and the United States were commended for having behaved with good manners and common sense. They kept the good will of Venezuela and of the whole world, while the allied Powers won a large measure of opprobrium on both sides of the Atlantic. The attitude and conduct of England in the affair were severely criticised at home, as well as abroad. The feeling prevailed that if England had any serious grievance against Venezuela she should have acted alone, and considered the substantial good will of the American people. In no point did England score or benefit.

V

The last step in the Venezuela negotiations was taken on May 7, when the protocol for referring the question of preferential treatment to The Hague Tribunal was signed by Mr. Bowen and the Ambassadors of the allied Powers. The agreement provided that the Czar of Russia should appoint from the members of the permanent court of The Hague three arbitrators to settle the question. It was notable

that the proceedings were to be conducted in the English language. Any nation having claims against Venezuela was permitted to join as a party in the arbitration provided by this agreement. In arranging these matters, Minister Bowen's "shirt-sleeves diplomacy" caused considerable irritation.

The conventional European diplomats were justly shocked at his rude and informal way of doing things. The unallied Powers complained that Mr. Bowen named Mr. Wayne MacVeagh to plead their cause at The Hague without even consulting them, not that they objected to Mr. MacVeagh, but they questioned Mr. Bowen's right to choose their agent. The allied Powers were offended because in publishing the diplomatic correspondence Mr. Bowen went beyond the customary rule of letting the documents speak for themselves, and appended his own explanations in footnotes which were deemed insulting in tone by some of the European diplomats and were of so unwarranted a nature that Mr. Hay very promptly disclaimed any responsibility for their publication.

The directness of Mr. Bowen's methods, backed by President Castro's sturdy resistance, doubtless saved Venezuela the payment of many million dollars of unjust or doubtful foreign claims. The claims of the Powers, as formally presented in September, stood as follows: United States, \$10,900,000; Great Britain, \$2,500,000; France, \$16,040,000; Italy, \$9,300,000; Germany, \$1,417,300; Belgium, \$3,003,000; Spain, \$1,600,000; Mexico, \$500,000; Holland, \$1,048,451; Sweden, \$200,000. The question to be decided at The Hague was not the adjustment of these claims, but the order in which they should be paid. Most of them were adjudicated by mixed commissions, sitting at Caracas, with umpires appointed by the President of the United States. The big claims were whittled down to comparatively small amounts. Germany was awarded only \$384,000, England, \$120,000, and France and the United States something over \$500,000 each. On September 10 the Venezuelan and Belgian arbitrators and the Dutch umpire decided that the Belgian company that owned the Caracas waterworks was entitled to collect the sum of \$2,000,000 from Venezuela.

VI

In October M. Muravieff, President of The Hague Tribunal, called together the three arbitrators constituting the special court to consider

the question of the priority of claims. Mr. MacVeagh pleaded on behalf of Venezuela and the peaceful creditors that the blockading Powers had committed acts of war in support of private financial interests, that there was no precedent for war on such grounds, and that the bellicose Powers ought not to be rewarded by preferential treatment in the payment of claims. The court then adjourned to resume its sittings on November 4. When the representatives of the Powers interested proceeded to state their respective cases, Sir Robert Finlay, speaking for Great Britain, contended that if all claims ranked equally, the payment would take so long that the allotted thirty per cent of revenues would not be a sufficient guarantee to the blockading Powers. Similar arguments were presented for Germany and Italy. The tribunal closed its sittings on November 13, with the promise to announce its decision in February of the following year.

VII

Unquestionably the method of settling the Venezuelan imbroglio proved the value of the leadership of the United States in matters pertaining to the Western Hemisphere. In the course of the proceedings certain precedents of undeniable importance were established. Central and South American States in their dealings with foreign creditors could no longer claim shelter under the Monroe doctrine to avoid the consequences of repudiation and neglect; nor could European investors, on the other hand, hope to have questionable transactions made safe and solid through the offices of their home governments as debt collectors. Naval expeditions, "pacific blockades," bombardments, and other ridiculous and expensive forms of bullying were shown to be ineffective means of settling pressing questions. The Hague Tribunal was recognized as the sanest and safest instrument for determining certain principles of international law for the benefit of all governments. The achievement of persuading three European Powers to give up blockading and resort to arbitration, and the reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine, united to give the United States a greater prestige among nations than it had ever before enjoyed, and to pave the way for peaceful conditions under which to prosecute its greatest national enterprise, the construction of the Panama Canal.

CHAPTER III

THE TREND OF NATIONAL ENERGIES

Projects for the control or the extension of great waterways and highways, expeditions with a view to acquiring territory or making treaties, marked the trend of national energies in 1903. Promptness to recognize and to seize points of advantage were shown in the United States making a revolution the opportunity for securing control of the interoceanic canal route; in Russia's taking an ell for every inch that had been given her in Manchuria and Korea; in Germany's eagerness to push the Bagdad railway; in Britain's "punitive expedition" to Tibet at the very moment Russia seemed to have established a footing there; in France's hovering on the border of Morocco to render timely assistance to the Sultan if the rebellion against him should offer occasion for it.

The Panama Coup d'Etat

"Panama" was the great event of the year 1903. The Panama revolution, and the opportunity it afforded the United States to make terms under which to continue work on the Isthmian Canal, was a development no less startling than important. From August 12, when the Colombian Senate rejected the Hay-Herran Canal treaty, to November 3, when the revolution on the Isthmus broke out, the Government had been playing a waiting game, but the promptness with which the Administration acted after the latter date showed that it was neither idle nor indifferent. There were, indeed, many people in the United States who thought that promptness such as that with which the Washington Government acted argued a guilty fore-knowledge of the revolution and preparation to profit by it. Panama declared its independence of Colombia November 3; on the 6th President Roosevelt recognized the *de facto* Government of Panama; on the 20th the full text of a new canal treaty, this time with the Republic of Panama, was made public.



PRESIDENT MANUEL AMADOR OF PANAMA



Why the Hay-Herran Treaty Was Rejected

The motives which led Colombia to reject the treaty by which the United States expected to gain the right to begin work on the canal across the Isthmus, are easy to understand. The right to amend or reject treaties can not be denied to any independent state. Nor can any state be relieved of the consequences of such amendments or rejections. The Colombian Senate thought the terms of the Hay-Herran treaty were not sufficiently advantageous, and twenty-four out of twenty-seven votes were cast against it. The Senators believed Colombia should receive more money for the canal privileges; they also objected to a grant which, in their eyes, meant a virtual surrender of sovereignty. They declared that they had no power to make such a grant, and that they would not accept the money payment offered by the United States — \$10,000,000 to be paid at once, and \$250,000 a year.

When it was seen that the Washington Government would not change in the least the terms of the treaty in regard to control of the canal strip, nor increase by a single dollar the amount to be paid Colombia, the Bogotá Senators evinced not only willingness but eagerness to accede to our terms. It was then too late, however, to repair the error, and Colombia lost its best chance to profit by the canal. Less worthy motives than those just mentioned as being responsible for the rejection of the Hay-Herran treaty have been ascribed to Colombia and as these will be stated, it is but fair that Colombia's side should also be given. On its behalf it was said that a ratification was refused for the following reasons: (1) The impossibility of having a world power substituted for a private corporation (the French Canal Company) as the builder of the canal. (2) The necessity of granting a new concession, which should take into account the nature of the new canal builder, instead of transferring the French company's concession to the United States. (3) The fact that the treaty was in violation of the Colombian Constitution. (4) The insufficiency of the sum offered to Colombia, and the reluctance of the Senate to have even this comparatively small sum (not enough to pay for the share of the railroad reverting eventually to Colombia) fall into the hands of distrusted officials. (5) The illegality of the

time extension granted to the French company, without which it could not have sold its rights and properties to the United States.

These reasons, good or bad, did not appeal to the leaders of the people of the Isthmus. It is but fair to assume that the people as a whole were equally dissatisfied with the rejection of the treaty, and the reasons therefor, if they considered only their own material interests. At all events, no sooner had the failure of the treaty become probable, than a project was set on foot to separate Panama from Colombia by revolutionary means.

Steps Toward Revolution

At the head of this project were Dr. Manuel Amador, Senor Arango, and Tomas Arias. Dr. Amador, who became the first President of the new Republic when it was finally launched, was the leader. He received assistance in his plans from the American officials of the Panama railway and, doubtless, from France, where it was quickly realized that the best way to complete a sale of the French Company's property was to get Colombian interference out of the way.

I

There is no reason to doubt that the first meeting of the conspirators occurred, as trustworthy correspondents have said, as early as May, 1903. Between that date and August 12, when the treaty was rejected at Bogota, Dr. Amador had been very busy at home and abroad. He had taken into his confidence four more Panamans who were to play a prominent part in the coming revolution — Constantine Arosemena, Ricardo Arias, Frederico Boyd, and N. A. de Obrario. Then Dr. Amador sailed (in September) for the United States. He visited Washington, and called at the State Department, but did not see Secretary Hay. The Secretary was in New Hampshire, where Dr. Amador, for some reason, did not care to follow. Instead he went to New York, and there met M. Phillipe Bunau-Varilla. This gentleman was in the United States in the interest of the new French canal company. He had worked on the Isthmus as an engineer, and was already known to Dr. Amador when they came together in New York. Amador acquainted Bunau-Varilla with the plans of the revolutionaries, and the upshot of the meeting was that the Frenchman was informally appointed guardian of their interests

in the United States. Dr. Amador returned to the Isthmus to tell his friends that they now had a representative in the United States who claimed to exercise great influence at Washington, and who would undoubtedly be able to induce the American Government to view with a kindly eye the declaration of Panama's independence.

II

By the 3d of November everything was ready for the revolution. On that date the representatives of the Bogotá Government, including such members of the soldiery as had not been bought, were arrested and a formal declaration of independence was published by the revolutionary junta at Panama. This document, which was signed José Arango, Frederico Boyd, and Tomas Arias, complained of the "grievances inflicted on the Isthmians by their Colombian brothers," and declared that "the people of the Isthmus, in view of this notorious situation, have decided to recover their sovereignty in order to work out their own destiny and to insure the future of Panama in a manner in keeping with the evident destiny of the country, its vast territory, and its immense riches." By the 6th, the revolution had so far succeeded that the local newspaper of the city of Panama was able to report that "The governments of Colon and Panama are now fully organized. Perfect union and cordiality reign throughout the Isthmus. No disturbances have been reported."

The part played by the United States in these events was confined to the action of the commander of the gunboat *Nashville*, who landed marines to avoid a conflict between the Colombian troops and the Isthmians and prevented the threatened bombardment of Panama by Colombian gunboats. In furtherance of an announced determination to prevent bloodshed and disturbance, seven United States warships were ordered to the Isthmus the day the news of the revolution was received, and three days after Panama's declaration of independence, President Roosevelt recognized the Provisional Government, France taking the same action on November 10. Other governments followed their example; Great Britain held off till December 22.

President Roosevelt's Action

Secretary of State John Hay justified the action of the President in giving recognition so promptly to the new Republic, issuing a

public statement in which he recited the obligations which the United States assumed under the treaty of 1846, detailed the numerous occasions on which, he asserted, the terms of this treaty had been put into effect, and led up finally to the revolution of November 3. In reference to the Administration's attitude toward the revolution and the Republic it brought forth, the Secretary said:

"The course of the President in this conjuncture was marked out in advance by all our principles and precedents. . . . When it was reported to him that a government capable of maintaining order had been established and was working without opposition, he did what is always done under such circumstances. He directed our representative at Panama as soon as he was certain that a government capable of maintaining the public peace had been established by the consent of the people, that he was to enter into official relations with it.

"Having regard only to the present crisis and the needs of the hour, no plainer duty was ever imposed upon a chief of state than that which rested upon the President of the United States in the interests of the Isthmus, the people of Colombia, the people of the United States, and the commerce of the world, to preserve, for the benefit of all free transit over the Isthmus, and to do all that lay in his power to bring a permanent peace to its people."

Justification of American Interference

The treaty of 1846 between New Granada (now Colombia) and the United States, upon which the Secretary depended for justification of American interference on the Isthmus, provided in its fifth article that "The Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States; . . . and in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and for the favors they have acquired, . . . the United States guarantees positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulations, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the



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AT WORK ON THE FAMOUS CULEBRA CUT

other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and, in any consequence, the United States also guarantees, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over said territory."

It was contended on behalf of Colombia that the United States when it prevented the suppression of the Panama revolution acted in violation of the stipulation in this treaty that it should "guarantee the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada possesses over the said territory" and "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus. In defense of the policy pursued by the United States, it was asserted that Colombia had lost or forfeited its sovereignty and property, and that the supreme obligation of the United States under the treaty was to secure uninterrupted transit across the Isthmus.

How Independence Was Declared

At the time this public statement was made by Secretary Hay, he was probably unaware that the revolution, although it may have represented the sentiments of all or a large majority of the people of the Isthmus, was nevertheless engineered and precipitated without their knowledge or consent. When the revolution was initiated by the arrest of the Colombian generals, Tobar and Amaya, and Governor Obaldia in the city of Panama; only the people of that city knew what had occurred or what was to be expected. Colon was in ignorance of the secession of the Isthmus until the following day. The people of the other five provinces of Panama were let into the secret gradually. The actual declaration of independence was issued by members of the City Council of Panama. In other words, the members of the municipal government of a city which contained only 25,000 out of the 250,000 people of the Isthmus, took upon themselves the responsibility for separating the entire Department of Panama from the Mother Country. That there was no opposition whatever to this step when the people were advised that it had been taken, can, in view of what is known of the origin of the revolution, be construed to mean only that the leaders of it had formed a correct opinion of the desires of the people; it cannot be construed to mean that the people had in any way been consulted before their allegiance was transferred from the Republic of Colombia to the Republic of Panama.

It may be added that separation from the parent state was no new experience for Panama. The territory comprised in the Isthmus of Panama was a part of Spain's South American colonies up to the year 1821. In November of that year, the inhabitants declared their independence and entered the Republic of Colombia, which then embraced the dominions which Spain had called the Viceroyalty of New Granada, the Dominion of Venezuela, and the Presidency of Quito. The Republic of Colombia was dissolved in 1831, breaking up into three states — Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada. The system of centralized government was maintained in the constitution of New Granada, adopted in 1832, the system including within its scope the Isthmus of Panama. Eight years later, in 1840, Panama and Veragua proclaimed their independence of New Granada and formed a sovereign state, by the constitution of which it became part of the fundamental law of the "State of the Isthmus" that it should never again be incorporated under the central Government of the Republic of New Granada. This secession was overcome by force, but fourteen years later the Congress of New Granada passed a law creating the State of Panama as an autonomous entity with the right of self-government. The central Government, however, was not long in undermining the organization thus established and finally succeeded in erecting a federal system which obtained for twenty-three years, Panama enjoying during this period local self-government, if not independence. The civil war of 1885 marked the reestablishment of unfettered central government, with its capital Bogotá, which prevailed up to the date of the revolution of 1903.

Successive Stages in the Canal Project

The situation which confronted the United States Government at this juncture can only be understood if one bears in mind the successive steps by which the agreement embodied in the rejected treaty with Colombia had been reached. The Canal Commission, appointed by President McKinley and headed by Admiral Walker, had reported in favor of the Nicaragua route, largely, as it subsequently developed, on account of the extravagant price demanded by the French canal company for its rights and property. The Commission in the same report had stated that in its judgment the work done by the French company, its

plans, equipment, etc., were not worth more than \$40,000,000, although the company had been demanding about three times this sum for its property. Immediately upon the appearance of the report, the French company, influenced by the fact that it saw every prospect that the United States would turn to the Nicaragua route and leave the Panama project strictly alone, sent agents to Washington with instructions to accept \$40,000,000, if that was all that could be obtained. The whole subject was again referred to the Walker Commission, which promptly reversed itself, and recommended the Panama route.

In the meantime the House of Representatives had passed, by an almost unanimous vote, a bill adopting the Nicaragua route and making an appropriation for beginning work on it. The Senate, on the other hand, influenced by the changed Walker report, passed a compromise bill, framed by Mr. Spooner, which was agreed to by the House, and became a law by the President's signature on June 28, 1902. This measure was entitled "An Act to Provide for the Construction of a Canal Connecting the Waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans." The powers it conferred upon the President were of the most sweeping character. He was authorized to acquire the assets of the new Panama Canal Company of France for a sum not to exceed \$40,000,000; he was at the same time empowered to secure perpetual control of a strip across the Isthmus of Panama not less than six miles wide, including the ports of Colon on the Atlantic side and Panama on the Pacific side. The act also carried an appropriation of \$40,000,000 for the French company, and the President was authorized to pay Colombia such a sum as was necessary to secure the desired concessions. In addition to these provisions, the act required the President, if he should not be able to carry through the necessary arrangements with the French company and with Colombia, "within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms," to obtain from Nicaragua and Costa Rica the right to construct a canal by the Nicaragua route.

III

Acting under this authorization, the Attorney-General of the United States was instructed by the President to inquire into the title of the new Panama Canal Company. The Attorney-General's report was to the effect that the company was in a position to confer a good title upon the purchaser of its property, and that the President would be justified

in paying the \$40,000,000 appropriated by Congress to make this purchase. As a matter of fact, the negotiations with the company were long delayed, but there was never at any time reason to doubt that they would end, as they did, to the complete satisfaction of the United States.

The negotiations carried on at Washington with a view to framing a treaty acceptable alike to the United States and Colombia did not proceed so smoothly. It was not until January 22, 1903, that Secretary Hay and Dr. Herran, Colombian Charge d'Affaires, signed a treaty by which the United States Government agreed to pay Colombia \$10,000,000, and an annual payment of \$250,000 a year beginning in 1910, for a renewable lease for 100 years of a strip of territory three miles on either side of the canal route, and for all the rights originally granted to the French Canal Company. The sovereignty of Colombia over this territory was expressly admitted; she was left in control of the cities of Colon and Panama, and the sole provision of the treaty which in any sense invaded Colombia's sovereignty over the territory involved were those which provided for extra-territorial courts for the trial of cases in which American citizens were concerned, and for the joint policing of the canal strip by the United States and Colombia. The only criticisms aimed at the treaty were based on the belief that we had conceded too much to Colombia's sensitiveness in regard to her sovereignty.

IV

The same criticisms, and others brought forward by steadfast advocates of the Nicaragua route, delayed ratification of the treaty throughout the regular session of the Fifty-Seventh Congress. Promptly upon the expiration of this session, however, President Roosevelt called an extra session of the Senate to meet on March 5. Opposition to the treaty continued, but the treaty was finally ratified, March 17, by a vote of 73 to 12.

For the first time in all the years during which an Isthmian canal had been talked of, the United States seemed in a position to begin actual constructive work. It was known that the Hay-Herran treaty was not altogether satisfactory to the Colombian Government, but it was hoped that the material benefits she would gain from the canal would turn the scales in favor of ratification of the treaty at Bogotá. How

and why these hopes were dashed by the action of the Colombian Senate has already been set forth, and with this outline of the history of the negotiations preceding the rejection of the treaty, and the revolution on the Isthmus brought about by this act, the policy of the United States Government following the revolution may be considered.

Terms of the Treaty With Panama

Having recognized the Republic of Panama and received M. Bunau-Varilla as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic, no time was lost in the negotiation of a treaty with the new State to open the way for the construction of a canal by the Panama route. Such a treaty was signed by the Secretary of State and the Minister from Panama on November 18, 1903. Article I of this treaty, which was ratified without amendment on December 2nd by the provisional junta of the Republic of Panama and subsequently by the Senate of the United States, provided that the "United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama." In Article II Panama "grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of the zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of said canal of the width of ten miles, extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the center line of the route of the canal to be constructed." The cities of Panama and Colon, and adjacent harbors, although included within the boundaries just described, are expressly excluded from the grant, but to emphasize the nature of the title conferred upon the United States in Article II, Article III provided: "The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power, and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement, and within the limits of all auxiliaries, lands, and water mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and water are located in the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, and authority."

Other articles to the number of twenty-five dealt with various details respecting the division of the powers to be enjoyed by the contracting parties, stipulated that the canal, when constructed and the

entrance thereto should be neutral in perpetuity, secured to the United States all the rights which the Republic of Panama might acquire on the Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railway Company, authorized the new Panama Canal Company to sell its rights to the United States, and fixed the compensation for the right to use the zone granted in this convention by the Republic of Panama to the United States at the sum of \$10,000,000 in gold and an annual payment of \$250,000 during the life of the convention beginning nine years after date.

Criticisms of the Administration's Policy

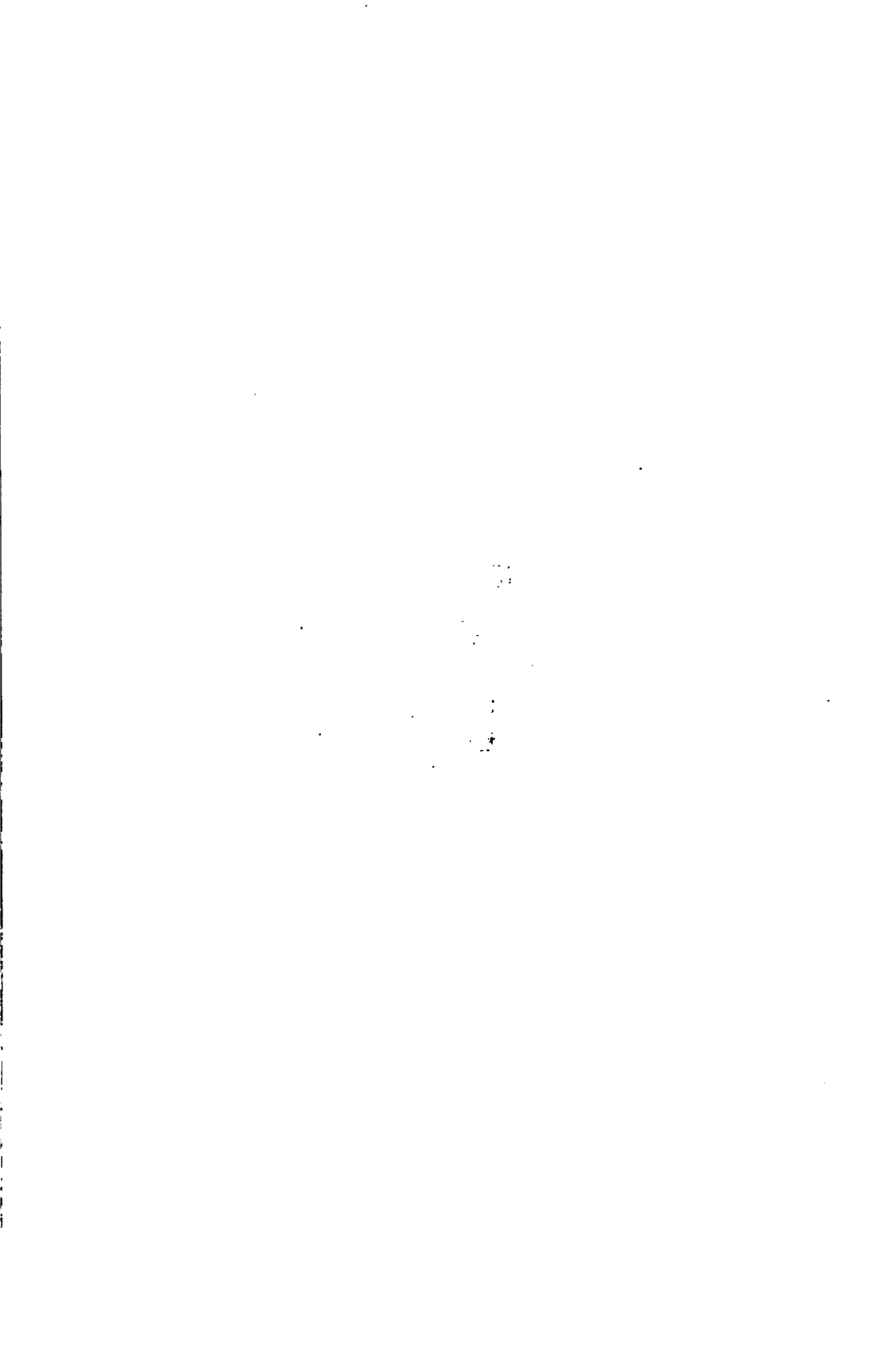
The course of the Administration, first in recognizing the new republic against the protest of Colombia and then in hastily proceeding with the negotiation of the treaty just outlined did not pass without criticism. The words "infamous," "dishonorable," and "ignoble" were applied to the Administration's policy, while one responsible organ of public opinion declared that "it was the most ignominious thing in the annals of American diplomacy." These views, however, did not generally prevail, nor did they have the slightest apparent effect upon the determination of the Administration to derive every possible advantage from the turn of events on the Isthmus.

Foreign commentators accepted the view of the situation which was held by the Government and even by those who were not normally its supporters, but who wished above all things that work upon the canal should not be further retarded. The *London Times* said: "Whatever may have been the action of individual American partisans of the Panama canal in fomenting the rebellion, there is no reason whatever to suppose that President Roosevelt's Government took the least part in working for the overthrow of Colombian rule upon the Isthmus. . . . But, the revolution having once broken out, his Government occupied an extremely strong position. It had merely to observe the letter and spirit of the treaty [of 1846] and wait to see if the new state had sufficient vitality to establish itself, and could command the general adherence of its people. Mr. Hay's vigilant and skillful diplomacy turned the opportunity to full account, and without any transgression of the law of nations, the United States Government comes in sight of the fulfillment of its cherished scheme for building the canal."



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ENTRANCE TO THE PANAMA CANAL FROM PACIFIC



President Roosevelt's Defense

In President Roosevelt's message to the regular session of Congress in December, he did not seek to apologize for the policy pursued by his Administration in dealing with the Panama affair, but a large part of the message was devoted to a plain-spoken defense of this policy. The President took the position that when Congress authorized the negotiations precedent to the building of the Panama canal, "the essence of the condition referred not to the government that controlled that route, but to the route itself." Following this there was a review of the relations of the United States under the Treaty of 1846 up to the unreasonable and selfish rejection of the Hay-Herran treaty. A list of fifty-three rebellions within fifty-seven years was given to show that the Isthmus had been the scene of constant disorder which Colombia, unaided by the United States, could not control. "The experience of half a century has shown Colombia to be utterly incapable of keeping order on the Isthmus . . . under such circumstances the Government of the United States would have been guilty of folly and weakness, amounting in their sum to a crime against the nation, had it acted otherwise than it did when the revolution of November 3 last took place in Panama." The offer of Colombia to approve the treaty it had rejected was mentioned as evidence that the Colombian Senate could have ratified the treaty if it had seen fit to do so, and the message closed with an earnest recommendation that the Senate should ratify the new treaty negotiated with the Republic of Panama. The Senate had not acted upon this recommendation at the close of the year.

"Injurious Insinuations" Refuted

It seems necessary to take account of the charges made immediately after the revolution occurred that it was fomented by the United States. In the special message which the President sent to the Senate, urging ratification of the treaty with Panama, President Roosevelt refuted "the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this government in the revolutionary movement in Panama," and added that these insinuations "are as destitute of foundation as of propriety." A large number of newspaper dispatches printed between August 31 and November 2, 1903, were quoted in order to show that the imminence of a revolution in Panama was known to the world, and that the

insurrection was the culmination of universal unrest among the Panamans. The sending of warships to the Isthmus was suggested, the President said, when he learned from two officers of the United States Army, who had returned from Panama in October, 1903, that a revolutionary party was organizing on the Isthmus. The orders of the Navy Department to the commanders of these warships were to the effect that Colombians and Panamans were to be treated alike and that the desire of the United States extended no further than the protection of the railway and the securing of transit across the Isthmus.

As to the recognition of the new Republic by the United States, the President said that it was accorded for three reasons — because of our obligations under the treaty of 1846, in the interest of national safety and progress, and in the interest of “collective civilization.” If these declarations, put forth in the most solemn manner by a President of the United States in a formal message to Congress, were not sufficient to quiet entirely criticism of the policy of the Administration, criticisms based mainly upon the alleged injustice and impropriety of its treatment of Colombia — even if these criticisms were still heard in the United States, President Roosevelt’s statements in the message just summarized served to silence the charges that the United States was guiltily concerned in fomenting the revolution of November 3. That such was the case is a cause for the greatest gratification.

Russian Aggressiveness in the Far East

Napoleon’s prediction: “Russia is the power that marches the most surely and with greatest strides toward universal dominion,” was frequently quoted during the year by alarmists, who seemed to see in the events of 1903 its threatened fulfillment. The May festivities in St. Petersburg, commemorating the capital’s foundation two centuries ago by Peter the Great; the Emperor’s proclamation of internal reforms; the part Russia was playing in the Balkan Peninsula, with the coöperation of Austria, and the support of France, Germany, and England; and finally developments in Asia, including the report of Minister Witte on the Far East — all made clear the tendencies of Russian policy and pointed to the growth of great world Power. At the anniversary celebrations of St. Petersburg’s founding, three great vital movements of the Russian Empire were made the subject of congratulation: first,

the struggle toward the Baltic and the conquest of an outlet to the North Sea which gained for Peter his title of "The Great;" secondly, the fight for the Black Sea which gained a like title for Empress Catherine; and thirdly, the achievement witnessed in our own time of the establishment of Russia's power on the Pacific, the completion of the Siberian Railway, the effected occupation of Manchuria and the establishment of a "vicerealty of the Far East."

Minister Witte's Report

The report of the Minister of Finance, M. Witte, on Russian interests in the Far East pointed out the methods for effecting Russia's ultimate absorption of Asia. M. Witte spoke most enthusiastically of the rapid development of Dalny, which, he declared, was destined to become the principal port not only of Russian commerce in the Orient, but of the world's international commerce. Russia had certainly produced a marvellous city in the wilds of the Far East, and had made it possible for the terminus of her gigantic Asiatic railway system to assume immediate commercial importance. M. Witte by an expenditure of over \$20,000,000, had succeeded in constructing a town capable of housing 100,000 people, before the arrival of any of its permanent inhabitants. It was not until the scheme had been worked out that any plots of land were put up to auction for the general public.

The town was equipped with every necessity of a modern port and city; there were jetties and breakwaters alongside which vessels drawing thirty feet of water could unload into the trains from Moscow and St. Petersburg. The sea frontages were all faced with specially prepared concrete blocks. In the city itself were roads, electric lights, electric railway lines, drainage, gardens, and parks; while the municipal buildings of an imposing character occupied the center of the town. The development of Dalny at the expense of Vladivostok caused considerable bitterness in some quarters, a feeling which M. Witte declared unreasonable in view of the superior advantages of the new port open the year through and nearer the commercial center of China. The report concluded by stating that in prolonging the railroad as well as by developing Port Arthur and Dalny, Russia had taken the final step in the fulfillment of its destiny to stretch its dominion from Europe to the Pacific.

II

Commercially Dalny seemed destined to be a disappointment. At the close of the year it had attracted few residents and no shipping. From a military point of view there was apparently good reason for its being, and provision was made for establishing 16,000 troops there. At Port Arthur, where the shipping interests centered, a new town was built along the western basin. Plans were adopted for deepening this basin to a depth of thirty feet, for a dry dock 680 feet long, and for a canal from the basin to the sea. The Russian Government had previously granted \$6,750,000 for deepening the harbor, until now eight ironclads and a fleet of torpedo boats could anchor there. In 1903 another appropriation was made for additional fortifications at Port Arthur, which when completed would form a continuous line along thirty-five miles of coast. The fortifications were strengthened with the guns taken from Tientsin. A census taken during the year gave Port Arthur a population of 42,065, of which 17,700 were Russians, 23,494 were Chinese, and 678 Japanese.

III

The Siberian Railway was declared open from St. Petersburg to Dalny in August. According to an official statement published in December, it had been completed at a cost of \$497,500,000, an average of \$83,000 per mile for the entire length of 3,992 miles. Postal communication established between London and Shanghai by this route occupied about twenty-one days. During the year the Siberian Railway asked for an appropriation of over three million dollars for connecting a line of the Trans-Baikal Railroad with the Manchurian, and for ten millions for constructing the railway around Lake Baikal. The Chinese Eastern Railroad Company surrendered to the newly formed Siberian Association its steamers that kept up communication between the ports in Tartary Bay, in Peter the Great Bay, in the Bering Sea, and between Vladivostok and the ports of Korea, Japan, and China. In Mongolia Russia was advancing her interests and her influence by the survey of a railroad from Khalar, on the East Chinese Railroad, to Kalgan, and by the erection of forts at Urga, the chief port in Northern Mongolia. The necessary funds for the construction of the Peking-Kalgan Railroad were collected, the largest portion of the capital being subscribed by the Russo-Chinese Bank, which made the rail-

road virtually a Russian concern. An expedition was organized under the Russian agent, M. Popoff, to explore the commercial, industrial, and natural resources of Mongolia with an eye open to the main chance for Russian occupation.

Evading the Issue of Evacuating Manchuria

More tangible and immediate dangers were threatened when Russia threw off her mask and let the world know that she would not keep her promise to evacuate Manchuria, and that she had no intention of releasing her grip on the northern provinces. Even before Russia undertook to make her long promised withdrawal from Manchuria contingent upon China's agreeing to the demands (recorded in the previous chapter), which virtually ceded Manchuria and Mongolia to Russia, it was very evident that she had all along intended to appropriate those countries. In 1900 Russia, using the Boxer uprising as a pretext, had put Mongolia under military control and practically secured the whole country without firing a gun. It was very natural, then, that three years later she should object to China's proposal to change the administration of affairs in Mongolia by making that country a regular province of the Chinese Empire. Russia had come to consider the Great Wall of China as a natural boundary, and it was likely that she intended, when she arrived at the point of officially annexing Mongolia, to go clear to the Great Wall.

I

Russia continually made excuses for not removing her troops and restoring Manchuria to China. First they were to be removed as soon as peace was declared; then it was to be when the allied Powers withdrew from China. She finally signed a treaty under which the troops were to be withdrawn in three instalments, October, 1902, and April, 1903, and October, 1903. In April, however, instead of withdrawing the troops as agreed, Russia made a number of demands on China which made it clear that she intended to stay. There was reason to fear that Russia intended to hold Manchuria and Mongolia and that she likewise had marked Korea for early acquisition, having rescued it from Japan in 1895 for that express purpose. It is small wonder then that the Russian absorption of Asia should receive serious consideration by the other Powers.

II

Instead of the promised evacuation of Manchuria, an Imperial Viceroy armed with the most extensive civil powers and supported by a powerful army and fleet, was installed in the northern provinces. This was Russia's most important measure for the consolidation of her dominion in the Far East. On August 13, the Amur Province and the Kwantung districts "leased" to Russia by China were merged into a special viceroyalty. Vice-Admiral Alexieff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army and Navy in Eastern Asia, was designated as "the first Russian Viceroy of the Far East." He was invested with supreme military and civil authority, and given control of diplomatic negotiations between his viceroyalty and "neighboring states." His specific duties were "to keep order and ensure safety in the districts traversed by the Chinese Eastern Railway, to watch over the interests and need of the Russian inhabitants of the possessions bordering on the territory under his jurisdiction, or lying on the other side of the border."

To uphold the arms of government and law in Manchuria, a special commission was formed at St. Petersburg, with the Czar as president and an influential membership including the Ministers of the Finance, Marine, and Military Departments, the newly appointed Viceroy, M. Bezobrazoff, General Nogack, and such other persons as the Czar might nominate. The commission possessed no executive powers; its duties were to discuss the drawing of budget proposals for the administration of the Far East, measures for the development and extension of trade and industry, and any proposals the Viceroy might make for new laws or for the alteration of old existing ones outside his own jurisdiction. At Admiral Alexieff's suggestion, the commission advised that Russia continue to strengthen her army and fleet in the Far East. On October 9, the day after the promised date of evacuation, the Russian garrison at Niuchwang was paraded through the streets. The next day Admiral Alexieff held a military and naval review at Port Arthur and many foreigners were present by invitation to witness the manoeuvres. It was announced that the troops reviewed were 100,000 strong, though actual count placed the number at 45,000. Steps were taken to increase the Russian forces in Manchuria and to reinforce the garrisons already established there.

Russia's Inroads in Korea

In the month of May it was discovered that a Russian settlement was being established in Korea at Yongampho, about fifteen miles above the mouth of the Yalu River on the southern bank. The Korean Government promptly protested against its occupation, and the Russian minister replied that it was necessary as a site from which to ship timber cut under a concession granted by the King of Korea in 1896, when the King took refuge in the Russian Legation. Felling timber in forests not included in said concession was stopped by the Government, but not before Russia's agent, Baron Günzburg, had begun to lay a Russian telegraph line on Korean territory, and this in face of Russia's protest against the construction of a Japanese telegraph line from Seoul to Fusan. The construction of the telegraph line to Wiju was ultimately abandoned, but the settlement at Yongampho was enlarged and fortified. All this time the Russian Minister was doing everything in his power to force Korea to legalize the occupation of the land, about 300 acres, and strenuously opposing Japan's proposal to open the ports of Wiju and Yongampho to foreign trade. The Korean Government placed between the Scylla of Russia and the Charybdis of Japan, adopted a policy of inaction, neither granting nor refusing Russia's demands for fear of arousing resentment.

Japan Calls a Halt

Negotiations between Russia and Japan for the mutual recognition of their railway rights in Manchuria and Korea came to naught. On August 12, M. Kurino, the Japanese Ambassador at St. Petersburg, presented proposals presumably for the fulfillment of the agreement recognizing Korea's independence, signed by both nations in March, 1898, and the agreement between Japan and Korea, signed June 19, 1898, in which preferential rights for railway construction were conceded to Japan. The Ambassador's letter and the reply were not made public by the end of the year, though it was known that no better understanding had been reached. In October negotiations were shifted from St. Petersburg to Tokio, where a conference was held between the Japanese Cabinet and the Genro, or "Elder Statesmen," resulting in Japan's making the following demands upon Russia: (1) the independence and integrity of China and Korea; (2) the recogni-

tion of Japan's special interests in Korea and of Russia's in Manchuria; (3) "equality of opportunity" for Russian and Japanese commerce in Manchuria and Korea. During the forty days that ensued between the sending of this letter and the receipt of Russia's unsatisfactory reply (Dec. 11), the public clamored loudly for war. The temporary preservation of the peace was due largely to the efforts of six statesmen, Counts Okuma, Itagaki, Inouye, and Matsukata, and Marquises Ito and Yamagata. The text of the Russian note was kept secret. Apparently it contained no concessions likely to improve the chances for a peaceful settlement. The Ministry and the Genro met again on December 21, and asked the Russian Government to reconsider their reply. Russia's answer to this request had not been received at the close of the year.

Preparations for War

At Tokio in December the war talk became intense, while at St. Petersburg there was a tendency to scoff at the idea that Japan would declare war. Nevertheless, Japanese marines were landed at Mokphe on December 13th to suppress a riot where the interests of Japanese merchants were involved, and where the scene of the trouble was a foreign concession. To this Russia made no objection. On December 11, an incident occurred which showed that while the Mikado and the Cabinet might try to maintain peace, the country was strongly for war. At the opening of the Japanese Diet, the Emperor in his speech from the throne, prepared by his Prime Minister, declared that Japan's Ministers abroad were instructed carefully to attend to their duties in regard to the important diplomatic matter of maintaining peace in the Orient. This vague declaration was so unsatisfactory that Parliament did an unprecedented thing. The Assembly, which had never been known to reply to the Emperor's speech except by a humble vote of thanks, drew up and adopted a reply which amounted to a sweeping vote of censure upon the administration. The Cabinet met at once and decided to endeavor to secure a reconsideration from the Assembly, but the Assembly refused to budge from its position, making it necessary to hold new elections.

There were constant rumors throughout December that a basis of agreement between Russia and Japan had been reached, and that the

final signing of the treaty would remove all danger of war ; but as time went on these confusing and conflicting reports were disregarded. It was no use to disguise the fact that Japan had been making, and was making, great preparations for war, and that Russia was fast increasing her naval and military resources on the Pacific. The opinion which pointed to hostilities between Russia and Japan was confirmed to some extent by the continued reinforcement of the Russian garrison in Manchuria. Moreover, several Russian warships were hurried on their way to increase the Czar's fleet in Chinese waters. The number of men already in Manchuria was estimated as being between 200,000 and 300,000. The so-called war party in Russia added to its numbers daily.

Germany's Hope of Holding Brazil

German expansion was recognized in 1903 not as the outgrowth of crude patriotism, but as an inevitable economic policy. She had come to depend more and more for her food supply upon countries over the sea, and it was apparent to the most staid and conservative economists that if the increasing population was every year less able to feed and find work for itself it must emigrate to other countries or settle in countries under German control. Germany's gaze was therefore directed chiefly to the Near East and to Latin America. The Bagdad Railway opened the way to German interests and German trade via Bagdad to the Indian Ocean, but Greater Germany seemed to be springing up in South America. The Government supported German emigration to Brazil and the Hanseatic Colonial Society took over property in Santa Catharina with permission to settle on the land as many as six thousand emigrants a year. Afterwards two independent colonies to the north and south were incorporated, the whole forming a complete state within the state called "The Hansa," containing, in 1903, considerably over 100,000 German colonists. In South Brazil over thirty per cent of the people were German, as were a quarter of the population in Rio Grande.

On October 15 in the Rio Congress, Signor Lima thus summed up the situation: The southern states of Brazil were becoming slowly denationalized. While the Italians became Brazilians and adopted the Portuguese language, the Germans everywhere clung to their nation-

ality and language, and even those born in South America considered Germany their fatherland. Everywhere there were German schools, churches, and theatres, and in every way the establishment of the colonists was facilitated and special privileges were accorded them. According to a conservative estimate the German inhabitants of "Greater Germany" did not really number much over 400,000 all told, but the South American statesman while dwelling on the dangers of denationalization frankly admitted that the native born population was neither numerically nor intellectually capable of assimilating the large number of emigrants of a superior race.

There was every indication, however, that Germany entertained the hope of colonizing, capitalizing, and eventually holding Brazil, just as England held Egypt, or Russia, Manchuria. The German naval policy and the enormous growth of her shipbuilding business was the product of reason and not of enthusiasm. The only thing destined to bar Germany's way to the economic absorption of Brazil and other South American states seemed to be the Monroe Doctrine. In September Count von Bülow, in an interview with the representative of a Brazilian paper, emphasized the integrity of Germany's intentions in regard to South America. He said that there was no ground for any fear that Germany contemplated the acquisition of territory in South America, and that it was quite untrue that the German Government was endeavoring to build up a state within a state in Brazil by encouraging Germans to settle there, and retain their language and their nationality.

Organizing the Bagdad Railway Company

Germany's prospects for promoting her interests in the Near East were considerably damaged by England's refusal to coöperate in building the Bagdad Railway, and to furnish one-fourth of the capital for the enterprise. The Imperial Ottoman Bagdad Railroad Company was organized at Constantinople, April 13 with a capital of \$3,000,000. Mr. Arthur Gwinner, one of the managers of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, was chosen president of the company, and Mr. Adolph Bernes, administrator of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Paris, was elected vice-president. The prospectus called for an extension of the Anatolian Railway, already built by the Germans from Scutari on the Bosphorus

to Konia, across Northern Mesopotamia to Mosul on the Tigris, and then down that river to Bagdad and on to El Koweit at the head of the Persian Gulf. German promoters obtained a concession for a line of 750 miles to be completed as far as Bagdad in eight years, and the Turkish Government guaranteed an income of \$2,200 per kilometer and an annual contribution of \$900 per kilometer, to help pay the working expenses of the first section from Konia to Bagdad. The estimated cost of constructing the entire line was \$100,000,000.

II

On April 23 Mr. Balfour announced in the House of Commons that the British Government would have nothing to do with the scheme. The Prime Minister said: "A copy of the convention, concluded March 5, between the Turkish Government and the Anatolian Railway Company, is in our possession. It leaves the whole scheme of railway development through Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf entirely in the hands of a company under German control. To such a convention we have never been asked to assent, and we could not in any case be a party to it; the alternative arrangements which have more recently been under our consideration were on the contrary designed to place the railway, including the existing Anatolian Railway, throughout its whole length from sea to sea, under international control, and to prevent the possibility of preferential treatment for the goods or subjects of any one country. In the arrangements it was suggested that equal powers of control be given to German, French, and English interests. After careful consideration of these proposals, His Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that they do not give to this country sufficient security for the application of the principles above referred to; and they have therefore intimated that they are unable to give the suggested assurance with regard to the policy which they might hereafter adopt as to the conveyance of the Indian mails by the projected route, as to the facilities at Koweit, or as to the appropriation of a part of the Turkish Customs revenue in aid of the contemplated guarantee."

Loud cheers from the members of the House greeted this announcement, and the press voiced the nation's satisfaction at being placed beyond the risk of finding itself exploited by a German syndicate. "We trust," said the *Times* in a leader of April 24, "that negotia-

tions are at an end for good and all unless the whole scheme is recast in such shape as to secure to us the rights and privileges indispensable for the preservation in our own hands of our long-standing interests in the Persian Gulf and in the neighboring regions. "England's reluctance to coöperate with Germany was thus explained by the *London Daily Mail*: "The Bagdad railway concession was extorted by Germany from Turkey during the South African war by an elaborate process of playing England off against Russia. When the concession was once gained, as it was no part of German policy to quarrel seriously with Russia, the German Government turned round upon England and declared that any alliance with her was preposterous, as Germany made friendship with Russia her rule of life. But in spite of the elaborate German explanations, the Russian Government has persisted in looking askance upon the railway. For that reason it has become important to Germany to entangle England in the affair, when Russia will move down to the Persian gulf, and a dispute between her and England will become certain. If, as the result of this dispute, England and Russia quarrel, so much the better from the German point of view."

Germany's designs were clearly frustrated by England's refusal, though certain semi-official organs scoffed at the idea that the loss of English capital would seriously delay the enterprise. An agreement was entered into in November between the German promoters and certain French financiers under which the German element, represented by the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, were to control forty per cent of the capital; the Imperial Ottoman Bank, acting on behalf of the French group, thirty per cent; the remaining interested countries, jointly, twenty per cent; and the Anatolian Railway Company, ten per cent.

Canada's New Railway Project

Other great railway projects of 1903 included a second trans-continental railway for Canada, the construction of a railway across Australia, and the extension of various lines in Northern China. In presenting to Parliament the agreement between the Canadian Government and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway for the construction of the proposed line from Monkton on the Atlantic to Port Simpson

on the Pacific, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, said that after a full consideration of all the proposed public work, "we have concluded that the first of all works which requires to be attended to is the construction of a second trans-continental railway." According to the original agreement the liabilities of the government were not to exceed \$13,000 per mile in the prairie and \$30,000 per mile in the mountainous section. At the request of the railroad corporation the government guaranteed seventy-five per cent of the construction without any restrictions and extended the time for completion to December, 1911.

The new project commended itself for a number of reasons: the national character of the proposition from the Canadian standpoint, its military importance from the imperial point of view, the commercial value of the short and direct route mapped out for it, and the rich new country it would open to settlement. The proposed line started from the head of navigation of Saguenay River and traversed the best part of the newly discovered wheat and timber lands of Northern Quebec, touched the whole of the James Bay and Hudson Bay trade, opened up the valuable mineral country of Northern Ontario, crossed the center of the rich lands of the Peace River Valley, and reached one of the finest ports on the Pacific Coast by a mountain pass 2,000 feet high.

Both the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec were asked to give grants of 20,000 acres of land per mile for those portions of the railway which were to run through their territory. Many of the far northern lands through which it was proposed to construct the new railway were capable of great development, though almost valueless at the time for want of means of communication. An American syndicate offered to the Prime Minister of Quebec the sum of \$37,500,000 for 25,000,000 acres of forest and mineral lands in the far north of the province to be traversed by the railway. This offer was promptly declined by the Prime Minister, though it would have furnished him with more than enough ready money to pay off the entire public debt of the province.

Australia's Big Venture

South Australia's scheme for constructing a railway across the Australian continent was one of the biggest ventures ever undertaken

by any State, and one of the most important ever offered to private enterprise. This was the offer: "Build within our territory 1,063 miles of railway which shall remain your own property and we will give you, as a bonus, a grant in fee simple of 79,725,000 acres of land." This would make the earner of this bonus the greatest private land owner on record. The Hon. J. H. Gordon, Attorney General of South Australia, explained why this extraordinary offer was made. Thirty years ago South Australia built the Trans-Continental Telegraph Line and a few years later began building a continental railway; roads were built running north from Adelaide 688 miles and south from Port Darwin 146 miles. Between these there remained a gap of 1,063 miles, which it was proposed to fill with a railway built on the land grant system.

The main details of the system were these: Bidders must put up \$50,000 as a guarantee that the contract will be signed if the bid is accepted, and they must state: (1) the quantity of land per mile of railway which is asked for the construction; (2) the time within which they will complete the work. No bid will be considered which asks for more than 75,000 acres of land per mile of railway. Bids must be sent in on or before May 2, 1904. The successful bidder must: (1) Construct the railway to the satisfaction of the engineer in chief on the three feet, six inches gauge, the rails to be of steel and to weigh not less than sixty pounds to the yard. (2) Complete the work in eight years at the rate of one hundred miles per year. (3) Provide and always maintain a train service for goods and passengers once a week at least from each terminal with a minimum speed of twenty miles per hour. (4) Deposit \$250,000 to be absolutely forfeited if default is made in any of the conditions of the contract. The land was to be free from any land tax imposed by South Australia from the date of the grant. Gold fields actually proclaimed at the time of the passing of the act and all lands in use for public purposes were excluded from selection. It was estimated that the railway with equipment would cost about \$25,000,000. The government reserved the right to purchase the railway at any time at a valuation to be fixed by arbitration in case of disagreement. It was asserted that the route presented no engineering difficulties. Mr. Gordon declared "A nurse-maid could wheel a baby in a perambulator from end to end of it.

Ballast can be obtained almost everywhere and good water all along the line. The climate is eminently suited for white labor and malaria is unknown."

Railway Enterprises in Other Countries

Various railway projects were on foot in Northern China in the Yang-tse Valley, the most important of which was the Belgian enterprise, the Luh Han Railway, to join Peking and Hang Kow at the junction of the Yang-tse and Han Rivers in a grand trunk line. Two hundred miles of this line were completed in 1903. South of the Yang-tse the principal project was the Yuen Han Railway to connect Wu Chang with Canton, thus completing the grand trunk and giving uninterrupted railway connection from Hong Kong to Calais through Han Kow, Peking, Port Arthur, Harbin, Irkutsk, Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin, and Paris. Between Canton and Samshui, a recently opened treaty port, there was also a branch line projected. The main line between Canton and Wu Chang and this branch line were being constructed by the American China Development Company, a strictly American company, with a capital of \$30,000,000. Eleven miles of American railway from Canton to Fatshan were opened in April. The hostility of the natives, which could only be overcome by the presence of an armed force, and the failure of Chinese contractors to fulfil their contracts on time, proved serious obstacles to railway building in China. Ancestral tombs proved another serious drawback and wherever possible the engineers avoided them, though exorbitant prices were often demanded for the removal of an ancestor's remains. Through the influence of the Chinese interested in the railway a uniform rate of damage was arrived at, the average price paid for disturbing a grave being about \$2.50.

II

The construction of a Pan-American Railway to unite the three Americas decided upon at the Pan-American congress at Mexico, was furthered in 1903 by the formation of the Pan-American Railway Company at Guthrie, Oklahoma, with a capital of \$243,794,000. The proposed line was to start from Port Nelson on Hudson Bay and traverse the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Mexico, Central America, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, ending at

Buenos Ayres, a total length of 10,471 miles, the line from Mexico on being 6,072 miles; of this 5,285 miles only needed to be built, since existing lines covered the balance, 1,417 miles. It was estimated that it would cost \$193,000,000 to build the connecting lines, and that it would take eight years to complete them. Branch lines were planned to Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso. During the year the South American territory was visited by agents of the company. The appointment of Charles M. Pepper as United States Commissioner to visit the countries of Central and South America for the purpose of interesting the governments of those countries in the proposed trans-continental railroad from the United States to the southern line of South America, interested many Americans in the gigantic undertaking. The fact that ex-Senator Davis, of West Virginia, and Andrew Carnegie each contributed five thousand dollars toward the payment of the expenses of Mr. Pepper's trip showed that men of business experience and ability had faith in the project.

III

Railway extension in Africa marked the trend of English energies in the Dark Continent. The Uganda Railway was practically finished. All the steel viaducts for the road, including twenty-seven bridges from the United States, were completed. Trading vessels were placed on Lake Victoria Nyanza and a through bi-weekly train service was established in each direction between Mombasa and Port Florence. In Ethiopia and the Sudan the work of development and exploitation progressed rapidly. The treaty between King Menelik and the British Government furthered the construction of the Birber-Suakin Railroad via Kassala, and the subsequent extension of the Kassala line southward to form a junction with the Uganda Railway — a long step toward the realization of Cecil Rhodes's Cape-to-Cairo dream. In April the Djibouti-Harrar Railway was opened, and the same month English and American capitalists sent a corps of engineers to survey a railroad from Khartum to Addis-Abeba. In June an expedition set out for Abyssinia to test the value of the Blue Nile as a commercial water-way. During the year the Rhodesian Railways were greatly extended, the following sections being completed: Vryburg to Bulawayo, 588 miles; Bulawayo to the Wankie coal fields, 238 miles; Bulawayo to Salisbury, 300 miles. Three important branch lines were fin-

ished, and a new one from Salisbury to the Mazoe goldfields was surveyed. The great coal deposits of Wankie were opened up before the close of 1903.

Timely Punitive Expeditions

With the fall of Sokoto, on March 15, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced in the House of Commons that a powerful Mohammedan empire had come to an end and Great Britain had acquired another kingdom. The strange destiny which drove a few English merchants owning a few square miles as trading stations to the conquest of India, again drove England forward in West Africa. It was not a deliberately designed conquest. The British people knew nothing about the country, not even its geography, and it was a surprise to learn that they were responsible for fifteen kingdoms in West Africa with a population of at least 20,000,000. Six years previous the acquisition was begun by Sir George Golday's defeat of the Emir of Nupe, a strong and warlike kingdom, followed by his administration of his conquest indirectly through native Princes or Emirs. The Sultan of Sokoto resisted for awhile, and sent out emissaries to preach a holy war against the English. When the Emirs refused to rise he decided to adhere to the British alliance. Temptations to intrigue diverted him from this policy, and ultimately led to his downfall, following which his kingdom was placed under the administration of a British commission.

Great Britain Acquires Another Kingdom

Near the close of 1902, Sir F. Lugard, the head of the British Northern Frontier Delimitation Commission, was so aroused by the hostile attitude of the Emir of Kano that he concentrated a force at Zaria, England's most advanced post, and prepared to overthrow the Fulah States if occasion should arise. At the beginning of the new year he decided to advance rather than wait for an attack at Zaria. On February 3, Colonel Morland took the city of Kano by assault. During the engagement the Emir and a thousand horsemen fled toward Sokoto; nearly 300 of his men were killed, though the English loss was very slight. A new Emir, favorably disposed to British administration, was installed, and an English garrison was stationed in the

city. On March 15, Colonel Moreland occupied Sokoto. Mr. Chamberlain promptly sent a message from the Colonial office congratulating High Commissioner Lugard on his achievement. With a force of less than 1,000 strong, the last important barrier to British dominion from the coast to the French desert area had been swept away, and Kano, the greatest commercial city of the Western Sudan, the starting point of the caravan routes, fell under British control. The total trade acquired amounted in 1903 to £2,335,089.

Naturally such a country as Northern Nigeria was not easily held, and a succession of hostilities was reported during the rest of the year. As long as the Emir of Kano was at large there was trouble; one rather serious attack on the British force pursuing him took place in June. Shortly afterward the Emir was killed in an engagement, and his death removed the greatest obstacle in incorporating the Northern Nigerian States. In December it was reported that the British Resident and a police officer had been killed in the Bassa province, and a punitive expedition was straightway ordered to deal with the situation. Several minor expeditions were dispatched from time to time to Southern Nigeria on various pretexts, though all pointed to the steady pursuance of the policy of opening up the Pagan countries from the Delta to the Benue.

The British Mission to Thibet

By another punitive expedition, Colonel Younghusband's mission to Tibet, Great Britain strengthened her position on the Indian frontier and undid the effects of Russian scheming. Edmund Candler, who accompanied the expedition as correspondent for the London *Daily Mail*, expresses England's attitude in the opening paragraph to his "Unveiling of Lhasa": "The conduct of Great Britain in her relations with Tibet puts me in mind of the dilemma of a big boy at school who submits to the attacks of a precocious youngster rather than incur the imputation of 'bully.' At last the situation becomes intolerable, and the big boy, bully if you will, turns on the youngster and administers the deserved thrashing. There is naturally a good deal of remonstrance from the spectators who have not observed the byplay which led to the encounter. But sympathy must be sacrificed to the restitution of fitting and respectful relations."

The byplay began with the Chinese ascendancy in Tibet at the close of the eighteenth century. When the Nepalese overran the country in 1792 the Chinese, in response to the Lama's appeal, sent a force of 70,000 men which drove the invaders over the frontier and almost annihilated their army. The beginning of Chinese rule in Lhasa, and the policy of strict exclusion in Tibet date from this event. China represented that England had instigated the Nepalese war, and warned the Lamas that the only way to avoid a British conquest of Tibet was to shut off communication with India and keep the passes closed to foreigners. The first and only Englishman, up to 1904, to enter the city of Lhasa was Thomas Manning, who remained four months in the capital, in 1811, in the retinue of a Chinese general.

Two centuries of sullen, silent hatred gave way to a succession of affronts and indignities, beginning immediately after the Macaulay Mission sent out in 1886. This was a strictly commercial commission which was hastily withdrawn as a concession to the Chinese. The Tibetans evidently regarded the withdrawal of the expedition as a display of weakness, for they straightway invaded British territory and established a military post at Lingtu, only seventy miles from Darjeeling. In 1888, after vainly appealing to China several times, England sent out a military expedition which drove the Tibetans from their position and defeated them in three separate engagements. Two years later a treaty was signed by Great Britain and China by which Great Britain's exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of Sikkim was recognized, the Sikkim-Tibet boundary was defined, and both powers undertook to prevent acts of aggression from their respective sides of the frontier.

II

The Tibetans ignored the treaty. They evaded its obligations in respect to trade, they overthrew the British boundary pillars, violated grazing rights, and erected guard-houses at Giagong, in Sikkim territory. When called to account they repudiated the convention, declaring that it had not been sealed or confirmed by any Tibetan representative and that they had no intention of observing it. The Indian Government repeatedly complained to the Home Government that the situation was growing serious and that China could not be depended

upon to enforce the terms of treaty. "We seem," said Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, "in respect to our policy in Tibet, to be moving in a vicious circle. If we apply to Tibet we either receive no reply or are referred to the Chinese Resident; if we apply to the latter he excuses his failure by his inability to put any pressure upon Tibet." In 1901, Lord Curzon was permitted to send a letter to Dalai Lama, announcing that Britain would be compelled to resort to more practical measures to enforce the treaty, should he still refuse to enter into friendly relations. The letter was returned unopened, with the message that the Chinese Government did not allow him to receive communications from any foreign power.

On January 8, 1903, Lord Curzon, in a dispatch urging English intervention, described China's suzerainty in Tibet as "a political fiction, only maintained because of its convenience to both parties." The previous year the Chinese Government had suggested that a Chinese Commissioner should proceed to the frontier to discuss on the spot the questions at issue. In May, 1903, the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking announced that the Viceroy of India would appoint commissioners to meet the representatives of China and Tibet at Khamba Jong, the nearest inhabited place on the Tibetan side of the frontier. On June 3, Lord Curzon informed the Senior Amban at Lhasa that Colonel Younghusband had been appointed British Commissioner and would proceed at once to Khamba Jong. Arriving there, the British Commission was practically boycotted. Irresponsible delegates of inferior rank were sent by both Tibetans and Chinese, and the Lhasa delegates shut themselves in the fort and refused to hold any intercourse with the Commission. Their position, according to Captain O'Connor, secretary to the mission, was this: "We cannot accept letters; we cannot write letters; we cannot let you into our zone; we cannot discuss matters, because this is not the proper place; go back to Giong and send away all your soldiers, and we will come to an agreement."

At the end of August, Colonel Younghusband learned that the Tibetans were arming, and preparing to oppose the British by force if they advanced further into Tibetan territory. In September they added insult to contempt by capturing and beating two British subjects at Shigatze. The mission remained in this humiliating and embarrassing situation until it was recalled in November. The Government of India

in a dispatch to the Home Government (Nov. 5), declared that it was not possible that "we should acquiesce in our mission being boycotted, our subjects arrested and ill-used, our officers insulted, and our authority despised by a petty Power which only mistakes our forbearance for weakness, and which thinks by an attitude of obstinate inertia it can once again compel us, as it has done in the past, to desist from our intentions."

At last the Home Government was aroused to direct the mission to proceed into Tibet, dictate terms to the Lamas, and, if necessary, enforce compliance. It sanctioned an advance as far as Gyantse, but directed that force should not be used unless the mission were attacked, or its communications threatened. The escort of the mission was increased by 2,500 men. Up to this time it had been accompanied by 200 men of a native infantry regiment, while a reserve of 300 men had been stationed at Sikkim. Thus reinforced, Colonel Younghusband crossed the Jelap-la into Tibet on December 13, meeting with no opposition. A week later he reached Phari Jong, which fort was surrendered to him without a shot being fired. The mission then marched across the Tang Pass and at the beginning of the new year took up its quarters on the cold, wind-swept plateau of Tuna, at an elevation of 15,300 feet.

III

Though we are compelled to leave the expedition stranded high and dry, and suffering with the intense cold of its winter quarters, we cannot leave the subject without reference to the light thrown on the situation by the publication of the Tibetan *Bluebook*. From facts therein contained it is perfectly clear that while Tibet's violation of treaty rights served conveniently as an ostensible motive, the discovery of Russia's designs was the real cause of the punitive expedition. After the Dalai Lama had publicly flaunted his relations with the Czar by sending a second Tibetan Mission to St. Petersburg (June, 1901), Lord Curzon began planning a countermove, by which England could go to Lhasa, apparently without a thought of Russia, and yet undo all the effects of her scheming there. This policy was eventually forced on a half-hearted Government by the conduct of the Tibetans themselves.

At Khamba Jong in August the Commissioners were informed by

Colonel Chao, the Chinese delegate, that the Tibetans were relying on Russian assistance and later some of the Tibetan officials boasted that if they were defeated they would fall back on another Power. For some years it had been known to the British Intelligence Department that certain Lamas, subjects of the Czar, educated in Russia, had been acting as intermediaries between Lhasa and St. Petersburg. One in particular, Dorjjeff, who headed the religious mission of 1901, had been frequently employed as the Dalai Lama's Ambassador to the Czar. All advances for a *rapprochement* were due to the intrigues of Dorjjeff, who was known to be the chief adviser of the Dalai Lama. For twenty-five years, in the capacity of a professor in a monastery, he had been doing the work of a Russian agent.

After a long series of negotiations he had succeeded in placing before the Dalai Lama a proposal from the Russian Government that a Russian Prince should take up his residence in Lhasa to promote friendly relations between the two countries. He also brought a treaty which, under the existing relations between Tibet and China could not have been valid, could it have been made. Following this Russian rifles were sent into the country, the arsenal at Lhasa was fitted up, and it was arranged to have a detachment of Russian Cossacks there by the spring of 1903. This was the last straw which goaded Lord Curzon into planning a countermove which would deal Russia an unexpected blow. From the "Tibetan Bluebook" it appears that the Indian Government at first proposed that the mission advance on Lhasa before opening negotiations, and that a British resident be permanently established in the sacred city. This proposal the Home Government refused to sanction, though it was not averse to fitting out a punitive expedition for an ostensibly peaceful mission.

French Designs on Morocco

France's skirmishing on the eastern border of Morocco was generally regarded as an attempted extension of French territory, notwithstanding the fact that, before the Figuig expedition was undertaken, the Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the Powers that France had no such intention, but merely desired to punish the brigands who had attacked M. Jonnart, Governor-General of Algiers, while he was visiting in the neighborhood of Figuig. There had been some sharp fight-



SULTAN OF MOROCCO

ing on that occasion, during which several members of the Governor-General's escort were wounded. The French Government promptly ordered a punitive expedition, headed by General O'Connor and thirty officers, composed of 4,000 men of the Foreign Legion and a strong force of artillery from the Algerian territory. On June 8, the French occupied Figuig, after bombarding the fort, making breaches in the ramparts, and destroying a number of buildings, including the mosque. All this was accomplished with no loss to the French troops.

In October it was rumored that France's control of Morocco had been one of the terms of the Anglo-French *rapprochement*. While this report was officially denied, it was perfectly clear, from the activity in the Mediterranean dockyards and from preparations made by the Governor-General of Algiers, that the French were planning for a campaign in Morocco. Helping the Sultan put down the rebellion offered a timely and convenient pretext for intervention. While no steps had been taken in this direction at the close of the year, it seemed inevitable that France should ultimately occupy Morocco. Tunis had been absorbed with little trouble and immediate profit. Algiers, after the struggle of three-quarters of a century, had settled down into a French department. The growth of France across the Mediterranean had become a natural and necessary expansion of the home frontier. It was altogether likely that the acceptance of British control over the Suez canal would be cheaply obtained by England's recognition of a French protectorate over Morocco.

CHAPTER IV

CONFLICTING NATIONAL ELEMENTS

The year 1903 will doubtless take an honorable place in history as a year of peace. Though there was one war cloud lowering on the horizon at its beginning and another at its close, yet for the breathing space of a twelvemonth nations ceased from strife. It does not follow that there was any talk of beating swords into ploughshares. On the contrary preparations for war as a safeguard of peace seemed to be the rule of the day with almost every nation. Moreover, while no official war was declared and none was in progress during the year, there were a number of revolutions, rebellions, and riots, more destructive of life and property, more horrible in outrage and cruelty, than regular warfare. Oppression, inhumanity, injustice, race hatred, religious prejudice, the jealous guarding of language and institutions, the hostility of "sullen, new-caught peoples" were causes of the year's conflicts.

The Macedonian Insurrection

Throughout the year there was little improvement in the Macedonian situation, which had been growing more and more intolerable for twenty years. The only progress made in the solution of the problem remained, at the close of the year, purely a nominal one. For while the Sultan was induced to accept in principal the nine points of Austro-Russian reform scheme outlined in Chapter II, it was perfectly clear that the proposals met with no honest nor earnest support either from the Turkish Government or from the revolutionary committees. Barbarity on the part of the Turkish troops continued, equalled by frenzied retaliation on the part of Macedonian rebels. Repeated revolutionary uprisings were promptly put down by military measures more and more drastic and terrifying.

Almost daily reports of Turkish atrocities appeared in the newspapers. The butchery that had been going on for two-score years

was unabated. A Frenchman who was on the scene in the early part of the year reported that throat-cutting was the pastime of the military in Macedonia. "Ten days before my arrival," he wrote, "there were found, not far from the village of Bresna, four Servian peasants with their heads cut off and their lungs drawn outside of their bodies, and in the village itself a child of fifteen years was shot in the shoulder and the chest. During my stop in this place a child's knee had been cut open by a saber in the hands of an Albanian, for no other reason than the very pleasure of the thing." At Monastir this correspondent purchased photographs of Turkish gendarmes exhibiting themselves in triumph with the heads of their victims. A consul of one of the great Powers stated positively to this correspondent that he knew of two hundred assassinations in the Uskub region, and it was believed that this was only about one-fifth of the actual occurrences.

Dr. E. J. Dillon, writing for the *Contemporary Review*, described scenes truly likened to "deadly visions from out the plague-polluted mist of hell." Dr. Dillon ridiculed the idea that the Sultan would execute any of the reforms in the Austro-Russian note. The real answer of the Sublime Porte was the steady stream of Turkish troops poured into Macedonia, increasing an army of 57,000 in January to 200,000 in June. The best Turkish generals were appointed to the chief strategic positions in the country; Ali Riza Pasha, who served for several years in the Prussian army, was at the head of the Province of Monastir, and Mahmed Hafiz of the vilayet Uskub.

Other important witnesses to the atrocities in Macedonia were Madame Bakmetieff, the American wife of the Russian consul at Sofia, and M. Westman, the Russian Vice-Consul at Philippopolis, who made an official report. Madame Bakhmeditieff, who traveled about in the deep snow in zero weather to bring help to the fugitives, declared that two priests in the villages of Oranoff and Padesh were tortured in a manner which suggested the story of St. Lawrence's death. They were not laid on gridirons, but they were hung over a fire and burned with red hot irons. In the village of Batshoff she saw thirty-two peasants almost beaten to death in the presence of the district chief. It was this same Madame Bakhmeditieff who presented the deplorable condition of affairs to the Russian Czar and Czarina, and impressed upon His Majesty the necessity for immediate interference.

M. Westman sent the startling results of his investigation to the foreign office in St. Petersburg. In his report he stated that a belt of territory thirty versts broad, running parallel to the frontier, typified the abomination of desolation. The churches had been defiled and the villages partly burned, while the inhabitants had fled. He declared that he saw women who had run away to save their honor and their lives huddled together almost naked in mountain fastnesses where the snow lay several feet deep. Forty women who reached Dubnicza and were cared for by Madam Bakhmeditieff were about to become mothers. Several were mutilated or disfigured, and the horrible marks of the red hot pincers with which they had been tortured were witnessed by all. A number of women testified that their daughters, children of from ten to thirteen, were torn from them by the Sultan's soldiers and subjected to nameless violence.

Incidents of the Insurrection

Insurrection broke out afresh in the early spring. During March various encounters took place between bands of insurgents and Turkish troops, accompanied by the burning of villages and the massacre of their inhabitants by both parties. The outrages at Salonica give an idea of the methods employed by the revolutionists to terrorize the country. On April 28, at eleven o'clock in the morning, when a French steamship, *Guadalquivir*, left the port of Salonica, there took place a terrible explosion, immediately followed by a fire which invaded every portion of the vessel. The forty passengers were saved, and the injured members of the crew were taken to the French hospital at Salonica. The dynamite bomb which caused the explosion was thrown by a passenger who was straightway arrested. The same evening dynamite was placed on the Salonica-Constantinople Railroad, but by great good fortune the explosive failed to ignite at the passage of the Constantinople express. On April 29 and 30, the gas was extinguished throughout the city, and bombs thrown in every direction by conspirators disguised as women and monks. One of these destroyed the Ottoman Bank, and by others many people were killed or wounded. Throughout the city there reigned a frightful panic. A report from the United States Minister at Constantinople stated that on this occasion the Turkish authorities held the Mohammedan population in check, and pre-

vented them from retaliating for the outrages committed by the Christian population.

II

In the vilayet of Monastir revolutionary measures were especially bloodthirsty; assassinations of Turks and Bulgarians occurred with terrible frequency; railway bridges were blown up with dynamite, and preparations for a general uprising were rapidly pushed forward. A large mass meeting of Albanians was held to protest against the Austro-Russian program of reform; shortly afterward 3,000 Albanians made an attack on Mitrovitza which was repulsed by a Turkish garrison. The Russian consul, M. Stcherbina, was shot by an Albanian soldier and subsequently died of the wound. The insurrection was not confined to Christians; there was also a general uprising of Mohammedans. They were assisted by the Bashi-Bazouks. Many hundreds of Christians were killed and 150 villages of Monastir were burned to the ground. In July terrible outrages were committed by Turkish officials on Bulgarians of both sexes in the Uskub vilayet.

III

Adrianople was the scene of the next uprising. On August 19 the revolutionary committees, encouraged by the presence of the Russian fleet on the coast of Roumelia, began frightful depredations. Telegraph wires were cut and over twenty Greek and Turkish villages were burned. Bands of insurgents appeared in adjoining parts of Macedonia, where they captured a number of Turkish posts, including the town of Krushevo. On August 27 the express train from Vienna to Constantinople was blown up by dynamite, killing a few passengers. In the same month there was a riot instigated by 600 armed Hintchakists in the district of Sasun, which was promptly quelled by the troops. In September an Hungarian passenger steamer was blown up by dynamite while en route from Varna to Constantinople. Several Turkish villages were burned and a few towns captured, though they were soon reoccupied by Turkish troops.

IV

Following every outrage committed by the revolutionaries were renewed cruelties by the Turkish soldiers. The capture of a Bulgarian town, Smilevo, destroyed by the Turks and Bashi-Bazouks on August 28, is an authenticated instance, and this is said to be but one instance

of ninety. An eye witness thus describes the horrors attendant upon the capture: "Soldiers had come fresh from a defeat in the hills and had suddenly surrounded the flourishing village, setting fire to the outer ring of houses; then as the frightened inmates rushed into the streets the shooting began, and while the soldiers killed and tormented, the Bashi-Bazouks ransacked each house, igniting it when this work was done. Ah, how merrily they ran to and fro, screaming loudly as the circle of flames grew smaller! What sport to the soldiers, to kill slowly and with impunity! 'Tis verily better fun than being dynamited in the hills. They take the sword bayonets now for fear of shooting each other, and laugh as the pile of dead grows higher. Into the flames with the infants—it is good to hear the mothers shriek, and to cut them down as they run blindly at the butchers, armed only with their teeth and nails. Now it is enough; every house is in flames, and not a thing of value left the survivors. Some have run for the hills, a few of the men have escaped the shower of bullets, but most are dotting the wasted crops."

Measures for Punishing the Insurgents

By the end of September the insurrection had collapsed, but even after the organized revolt was suspended, Turkish military excesses continued unabated in various parts of the country. Nazir Pasha, the Turkish general in command, divided the insurrectionary district into sections to be driven simultaneously from different directions at the mercy of the relentless Albanian Bashi-Bazouks. A deliberate and systematic extermination of the peasantry was planned. All Christians of both sexes who failed to find refuge in the woods were put to the sword. Altogether in Macedonia and Adrianople at least a hundred villages were destroyed; fields were laid waste, the harvest was either uncut or burned, and the air was rank with the stench of putrid corpses. The prisons of Monastir were full of Bulgarian prisoners, and twelve hundred inhabitants of this province had been killed. Instances of fiendish cruelty on the part of Turkish officials were cited by the correspondents of the press of the capitals of Europe. After the insurrection in the Raslog district ceased, and the revolutionary bands disappeared, the reign of terror continued, the defenseless population being exposed to the vengeance of the authorities and Bashi-Bazouks.

The form of persecution adopted was the same as that which prevailed in the earlier part of the year. Searches for arms continued, and were made the pretext for the grossest exactions. Each villager if unable or unwilling to give up a rifle, or to pay a ransom, was subjected to barbarous torture. Many were forced to buy rifles from their Mussulman neighbors in order to satisfy the demands of the authorities, and in some cases the rifles were sold again and again. This state of things instigated a constant stream of emigration into Bulgaria. Hundreds of fugitives arrived daily from the persecuted districts, although they obtained little protection from the bands of insurgents, and the cold weather added greatly to their hardships. While the mobilization of the Bulgarian reserves was relinquished, the regular army held all the strategical points to the end of the year.

Demands of the Revolutionists

The demands of the revolutionists published during the year in their official organ, the *Autonomie*, were as follows: (1) The formation of four provinces, Albania, Macedonia, Old Servia, and Thrace, which shall enjoy administrative autonomy and remain under the political and military authority of the Sultan. (2) A High European Commission to be nominated by the six grand Powers for a period of three years, which shall be charged with the maintenance of order in the four provinces. (3) A European Governor-General for each of these provinces, to be named by the Porte for five years with the consent of the powers. (4) A European Commission to be charged with organizing the four provinces, and a native delegation composed of elected representatives to assist in this work. (5) This commission to be charged with the autonomous administration of the four provinces until a new organization shall have been completed. (6) An international army of occupation composed of 45,000 men to be maintained in the country during the discussions of the committee, after which time it will be reduced one half, and then under the name of police will remain at the disposition of the commissioners.

II

To understand the claims and the aspirations of the revolutionists, their divisions, and the attitude of the related Balkan states toward them, it is necessary to understand the national complexion of Mace-

donia. Its four or five races are totally different and intensely hostile. In religion its population of 2,200,000 is two-thirds Christian and one-third Moslem. The case against the Macedonians was presented by Mr. G. F. Abbott in the *Nineteenth Century*, who pointed out that Macedonians as a distinct and homogeneous ethnic group do not exist. "What actually exist are a Greek population in the south of the province, a Slavonic population in the north, a mixed and debatable congeries of nationalities and dialects in the middle, a few Wallachs here and there, and Mohammedans sprinkled everywhere. The whole thing strikes one as an ethnological experiment conceived by demons and carried out by maniacs — not devoid of a mad sort of humor. Add that the Slavs themselves do not always know whether they are Servians or Bulgarians, and if the latter, whether they are Schismatic or Orthodox, or if Schismatic whether they wish to see the country independent or part of the Bulgarian principality, and you have a fairly accurate picture of the state of things."

Bulgaria's Position

The Bulgarians claim that they predominate numerically, but the Greeks deny this statement. School statistics of the year showed that the Bulgarian element represented but a seventh of the total school attendance in the province of Salonica. It can readily be seen that if self-government had been granted to Macedonia, with predominance given to the Bulgarians, the Greek and Rumanian populations would have been engaged in the fiercest civil war. To such an autonomy the Greeks openly preferred Turkish rule, with financial reforms which would put an end to financial abuses. In fact, the attitude of the Greek Government was strongly antagonistic toward the insurrection. The Premier, M. Ralli, described the insurgents as "hordes of wolves making incursions into Macedonia," and declared that to destroy them Greece would place herself on the side of Turkey or any other country. A little later, however, he requested the Powers to insist on the punishment of the Governor of Krushevo for excesses committed on the Greek population of that district by Turkish soldiers.

II

Bulgaria was placed in a difficult and uncomfortable position by the insurrection. The Macedonian refugees and emigrants within her

borders numbered over 100,000; nearly half the population of Sofia, the capital, was Macedonian; and 600 out of the 2,000 officers of the Bulgarian army were natives of Macedonia. It was from this population of refugees that new bands of insurgents were constantly being formed; the proportion of native-born Bulgarians among them was insignificant.

The discovery of a military conspiracy at Sofia with the object of provoking hostilities on the frontier led to the removal of 140 officers in October. The most important step taken by the Bulgarians was a movement to obtain a coalition of all the small nations surrounding Turkey. A large popular assembly was held at Sofia, and a resolution was voted calling upon the Servians and Rumanians to unite with the Bulgarians in forming a Balkan federation. The Servians replied with a curious series of resolutions, asking that it be left to the small Balkan states to establish order in Macedonia, since Turkey was powerless to grant the reforms required.

III

One cause of insurrection, as a writer in the London *Fortnightly* pointed out, was the Bulgarian school, which turned out numbers of educated young men who refused to return to the squalid homes for which they held Turkish rule responsible. The average peasant had a net yearly income of only about fifty dollars, of which nearly seventeen dollars went for taxes. It was a common incident for villages to cut down fruit trees to avoid paying the tax on them. The Turkish landlord got half the farmers' produce. Every village supported a number of Turkish policemen, who were really parasites, the average household paying \$7.50 out of its annual income of \$50.00 not for protection, but for a precarious immunity from outrage. This writer said that the average Macedonian peasant had no idea whether he was Bulgarian or Greek, but joined whichever party paid him most.

In view of the foregoing facts, it is not surprising to learn that the revolutionary organization was subject to frequent splits and schisms. The adherents of Sarafoff, who at the annual congress of the previous year refused to recognize Michailovski and Zontcheff as heads of the revolutionary committee had, on being excluded from the sittings, proceeded to form a committee of their own; but while they differed on the question of annexation versus independence, they

agreed as to their *modus operandi*, i.e., on inducing Europe to intervene by provoking a massacre. They also agreed upon issuing, during the year, postage stamps with the figure of Macedonia as a woman in chains, and the legend "Supreme Macedonia-Adrianopolis Committee." These stamps were purchased by patriots and used in addition to ordinary stamps, the proceeds of the sale going to feed the insurrectionary movement.

The Macedonian Garibaldi

The soul of the revolutionary movement in 1903 was Damian Gruyeff. He, like the majority of the leaders of the agitation, was once a schoolmaster. He is thus described by Dr. Dillon: "Like Pompey of old, he has only to stamp on the ground to summon bodies of armed men to appear and follow him. His flow of eloquence is said to be as irresistible as were the magic sounds of the pipe of the Hamelin rat-catcher. He can lead his peasants to the jaws of death, and they march on blithely singing war songs. In this way, he has persuaded thousands of hard-headed men to leave their houses, their crops and their families, and to risk their lives in a supreme and desperate effort to shake off the yoke of the Turk. The 'Macedonian Garibaldi' is the nickname which this demagogue has received, and he certainly has not usurped it. He possesses the invaluable gift of making his hearers see things as he himself views them, and of communicating to them the fire that burns within him. His eloquence is thrilling, his enthusiasm infectious, his appeal irresistible. He is a sympathetic, fiery-eyed, brown-skinned man, of about thirty-three years, whose short career has been characterized by daring ventures and remarkable escapes. He knows his country and his people better than any of his fellow compatriots and is adored by the masses, who look up to him as their savior."

American Institutions Threatened by Moslem Fanaticism

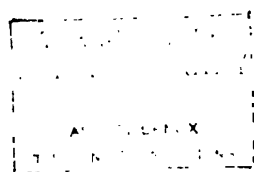
Revolution in Macedonia had the effect of stirring up Mohammedan fanaticism in other parts of the Turkish Empire, not only against the Christian subjects of the Sultan but also against foreigners, and serious disturbances were reported from various parts of Asiatic-Turkey. America was aroused by what seemed to be an authentic report that on August 27 a fatal assault had been made on the American



QUEEN DRAGA OF SERBIA



ALEXANDER OF SERBIA



vice-consul at Beirut on the Syrian coast. Admiral Cotton, while cruising in the Mediterranean, was ordered by the President to proceed at once to Beirut with the European squadron, consisting of the *Brooklyn*, the *San Francisco*, and the *Machias*. He found that our vice-consul, Mr. Magelsen, had escaped injury, but conditions were such that it seemed desirable for Admiral Cotton to remain in the neighborhood to protect American institutions there: the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut and the Euphrates College at Harpoot. Two or three years previous some of the latter's buildings had been burned by a mob, aided by Turkish soldiers, and it was reported that these institutions were again threatened with harm, although both were under the guarantee of treaties, with specific charters from the Sultan.

The energetic action of the Government seemed to be justified by a report received by the State Department that recent attempts had been made to burn the building of the American Missions at Harpoot, and that the lives of Americans generally were in danger. The Macedonian troubles, the recent assassination of the Russian consul, and indications that the Turkish population was inflamed with an anti-foreign feeling, influenced the action of the Government. There was little criticism of the President's prompt measure; none at least more severe than the suggestion that a more sluggish man or a weakling in the presidential office would probably have waited twenty-four hours, or at least until no doubt existed that the American vice-consul had really been murdered, before beating the drum and ordering off the cruisers.

Revolution in Serbia

Servia's ruling house was overthrown in 1903 by means of one of the most brutal tragedies recorded in history. A plot to assassinate King Alexander and Queen Draga was consummated on the night of June 10, though it owed its origin to the coup d'état of April 1, by which the King had done violence to the constitution, and its consummation was due to the belief that the Queen's brother had been made heir to the throne. The plot was carried out by a great number of army officers who claimed they were impelled by patriotic motives to secure the King's removal from a position in which he had seized undue power and had exercised it malignly.

Murder of the King and Queen

The Sixth and Seventh Regiments, deputed to accomplish the end, surrounded the palace at Belgrade near midnight, and a group of officers and soldiers forced an entrance, meeting but feeble resistance from a few guards. Colonel Naumovitch, who was on duty at the palace but in league with the conspirators, blew open the royal apartments with a bomb by which he perished. An officer presented the King with a paper for his signature, which proved to be a form of abdication. King Alexander refused to sign it. The document was again offered, and again the King refused to sign, whereupon the whole group of officers discharged their revolvers at the King and Queen. Immediately afterwards the conspirators assassinated two brothers of the Queen, the Prime Minister, Markovitch, the Minister of War, Pablovitch, and several aides and officers.

I

Two accounts of the tragedy from Servian sources have been obtainable. The following was given to Dr. E. J. Dillon by one of the murderers himself: "We were wild with passion, trembling with excitement, incapable of receiving any impressions from the things and people around us; hence, we cannot say who shot the King in the head, who in the heart. But I have a vivid recollection of some things. I remember turning out the electric light, and going to fetch candles to light my comrades on the way. That done, I remained together with them to the end. I remember our breaking into the King's bedroom, finding it empty, and then looking into the Queen's wardrobe room, where we found the pair. Who fired first I don't know. Nobody knows. At first we did not fire at all. We drew our sabers and cut off the fingers of the King and Queen. Four fingers were hewn from the King's hand; then we fired."

II

The other account of the tragedy brings out in sharp contrast the mediæval and modern aspects of the affair. "Belgrade is less than two days by the Oriental Express from Paris, but the state of the French officer is hundreds of years in advance of that of the Servian colonel and lieutenant who tried to clear off by massacre the Obrenovitch dynasty. The ultra-modern circumstances which accompanied their work render it more revolting. Officers who had studied in the

Zurich Polytechnic School knew how to use dynamite without injury to themselves when they wanted to break in doors massive as those of a church. Those who had been told off to cut the electric wires used india rubber gloves. They searched by the light of composite candles for the hiding place of the King and Queen, which some of the officers held high to assist their comrades to butcher the discovered pair. There was no attempt to resist. All Alexander wanted was, 'To die with Draga,' and this elevated him into the region of romance." Another modern circumstance fairly makes one's flesh creep. "The bodies, flung out of a window, lay on a garden walk till dawn, when a soldier received an order to wash them there with a fireman's hydrant, and, when they had been cleansed, to lay them on the tables of the palace kitchen for dissection. The Queen received two pistol balls and sixty-two sword cuts and slashes, and her corpse bore black and blue marks that testified to a merciless pounding with strong fists. On Alexander's body there were six revolver wounds, all deadly, and forty-two sword wounds."

Causes for Alexander's Overthrow

An accumulation of grievances led up to the tragic overthrow of the Obrenovitch dynasty. For a long time Servia had been torn by the dissensions of Radicals, Liberals, and Republicans. King Alexander had grown arbitrary and arrogant. In April he suspended the Liberal Constitution, which he had promulgated only two years before, and revoked the Radical legislation of the previous two years. For a short span of time he was absolute ruler. He abolished the law introducing ballot at election, which protected the peasants against official pressure; also the law establishing the liberty of the press. Radicals were excluded from the Senate and from the Council of State, and ten judges belonging to the Radical party were dismissed. He then put in force a revised constitution and started the machinery of a new constitutional government. By these autocratic measures he had shown himself unfit to exercise royal power and unworthy of royal dignity. Of all the rulers at the beginning of the twentieth century it might fairly be said that Alexander of Servia was the most ill-qualified. He was without friends at any European Court, due to the fact that he was stubbornly perverse in politics, and in conduct.

II

His father, King Milan, abdicated in 1889 and proclaimed his son, Alexander, King of Serbia, under a regency until he should attain his majority at the age of eighteen. In April, 1893, nearly a year and a half before he reached his eighteenth year, Alexander declared himself to be of age, dismissed the regency, and successfully assumed authority as King, though by this needless act of violent self-assertion he estranged his subjects. King Milan, who vastly preferred a life of pleasure and dissipation to the exercise of his official duties, placed himself fully under Austrian influence, while his wife, Queen Nathalie, the daughter of a Russian officer, was secretly in alliance with the Pro-Russian party, which succeeded in securing King Milan's abdication.

The Russian court, disposed to do what it could for the young King Alexander, exerted itself to help him secure a wife. His quest and the snubs and refusals he encountered were the talk of all Europe. The most persistent effort was to win one of the Montenegrin Princesses, a sister of the Queen of Italy, but her father refused on purely personal grounds to have Alexander for a son-in-law. It may be remembered that there was even talk of Alexander looking to America to induce an American heiress to become the Queen of Serbia. Meanwhile, he had formed a notorious entanglement with a Servian widow, Draga Maschin, formerly a companion to his mother.

III

On August 5, 1900, the King surprised Serbia and all Europe by marrying Draga Maschin and proclaiming her as Queen. From the beginning the Servian people showed in every possible way that they abhorred the idea of accepting her in that position. It was claimed that she had an undue influence over the King which she exercised for the benefit of her family, and that her brother, a young officer in the army, had been designated as heir to the throne. The punishment of cabinet ministers, army officers and others from whom she had not received honor and deference, was laid to her door. In the lack of an heir to the throne, Queen Draga had entered into a plot to palm off upon the Servian people as her own child, an infant son of one of her sisters, and the exposure of this affair forfeited the esteem of the Servian people and all European nations.

IV

Officially Queen Draga was nine years older than the King, and was in her thirty-sixth year when assassinated, though it was universally believed in Serbia that she was in reality sixteen years older. She was, however, the only woman to whom the King had ever been attached, and from a domestic point of view the pair led a blameless life. One well acquainted with the court life of Serbia wrote: "Nothing pleased Alexander more than to see Draga with her maid inspect the linen that had come from the wash. She looked it over minutely, seeing where a stitch might be wanted. This domestic task she never failed to discharge. She darned and knitted the King's socks and cycling stockings. He read to her while she worked. She checked all the house accounts once a week, and ordered tradespeople who overcharged to be deprived of the palace custom. The home-sweet-home sentiment accounted for Alexander's constancy, in the face of paternal, maternal, and national opposition."

A letter written by Queen Draga to an intimate friend on the evening of her assassination, and later published in the *Neues Wiener Journal*, gives her view of the situation: "I love Sacha (the King) with infinite tenderness, but I shall not hesitate to sacrifice myself and separate from this good and faithful soul. I know that I am hated and that the absence of a child, of an heir, increases the dangers which threaten us. If the King becomes reconciled with the extreme radicals it may be that a second Queen of Serbia will follow the first into exile. I am haunted by dark presentiments; often during the night I recall the horrible picture of dying Michael, who extends his bloody hands toward his assassins, begging them: '*Ne mot je, bratscha, dosia*' (Stop, my brothers, it is enough!) Sacha alone and in the midst of all our troubles is in good humor. This is largely due to his unshakable faith in the Obrenovitch star."

V

The Servians received the overthrow of the dynasty and of the Government with the utmost calmness, and so far from resenting the method by which this was accomplished, the event was regarded as an occasion for joyful celebration. All the Servian papers expressed approval of the assassination, and the head of the national church of Serbia officiated at a great thanksgiving service in the Cathedral of

Belgrade, during which he thanked the Army for what it had done and eulogized its conduct. In explanation of the people's attitude, Dr. E. J. Dillon writes: "Latter-day Serbia is inhabited by a people of coarse, hard-headed swineherds and farmers, who, though passionately fond of license, which they take for freedom, are, like most Oriental races, easily led by the right ruler. But Alexander was utterly devoid of self-mastery, the first condition of all good leadership. He courted his destiny with fatuity, provoked it with perseverance. His government was the embodiment of contraries, the practical outcome of political paradoxes; to-day he would proclaim a veritable saturnalia; to-morrow, a regime of absolute despotism; one month a batch of cabinet ministers would be cooped up in dungeons or tried for their lives, and another month would see the criminals raised to the highest offices in the realm. At first, he offended the people by leaning on the support of the army, and then he humiliated the army."

Servia's New Ruler

Immediately after the murder of the King and Queen a new provisional ministry was formed under M. Avakumovitch, who had been Prime Minister for a brief season ten years previously. Many of the regicides were given places in the new government. Colonel Maschin, the Queen's brother-in-law, and the leader of the conspiracy, was made Minister of Public Works, while Colonel Mitchin, who had taken a chief part in it, was appointed Commandant of the Belgrade District. At the same time it was decided that the constitution of 1888 should be put in force and that Peter Karageorgievitch, Prince of the rival house to the Obrenovitch dynasty, should be elected King. The election was held on June 15. A deputation from the Senate and the Skuptstchina was sent to Geneva to welcome the new ruler. The Czar, the Prince of Montenegro, and the Emperor of Austria sent telegrams of congratulation, Emperor Franz Josef taking occasion to add the hope that the new King would "raise Serbia from the profound discredit in the eyes of the civilized world into which she has recently been plunged by an iniquitous and accursed crime."

I

King Peter entered Belgrade on June 24. He was greeted with wild rejoicing on the part of his subjects, which doubtless did much to



KING PETER OF SERVIA

compensate for the diplomatic boycott he encountered. The British Consul-General had been withdrawn; the King of Rumania had ordered that all conspirators who bore Rumanian decorations should be stricken from the rolls; the only foreign representatives present at the reception were those of Russia and Austria. The press of Europe and America was loud in its demands that the regicides be punished. But King Peter's hands were tied. The regicides held all the chief civil and military offices, as well as the keys of the arsenal and the treasury. He was surrounded and ruled by assassins; he owed his crown to conspiracy.

After taking the oath of office and swearing to uphold the Constitution of 1888, King Peter issued a proclamation to the people, promising to "carefully respect and guard all constitutional guarantees of freedom and popular rights," adding that "to the past he consigned the past," and that he left it "to history to judge each one according to his deeds." On the same day a decree was published in the official journal of Belgrade bestowing an amnesty and perpetual indemnity for all acts of treason perpetrated up to the date of the decree. Toward the close of the year great dissatisfaction was manifested in the army at the large influence exercised by the regicides over the Government. Forty-seven officers of the garrison at Nish were arrested and imprisoned for a conspiracy against the assassins of the late King and Queen. The Commander of the Nish division was placed on the pension list and succeeded by General Diuknitch, the only general implicated in the murder. As a protest against the favor shown the regicides, the Powers removed all their representatives from Belgrade at the Christmas holidays, so that they should not be present to take part in the New Year's greetings to King Peter.

II

Peter Karageorgevitch, King of Servia by grace of red-handed revolution, was a son of that Alexander who was elected Prince in 1842 and deposed in 1858. He was a boy twelve years old when his father was driven from the throne. After that he went to school in Hungary, traveled in Russia, and eventually was graduated from the French Military School of St. Cyr, when he became an officer in the French army. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war he fought valiantly with the Foreign Legion. A few years later, during the

revolt of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Turks, Peter went to Montenegro and joined the movement against the Turks, which eventually gave him the opportunity to marry Princess Zorka, the daughter of the Prince of Montenegro, and a sister of the present Queen of Italy. She died in 1890, leaving three children, a daughter and two sons, both of whom were attached to the Russian court for several years. Peter's connection with the Montenegrin family was of great value to him.

For ten or twelve years before he was called to the throne of Serbia, Peter had lived quietly in Switzerland on a small income. He was regarded as very liberal in his political views. It was even alleged that he was on friendly terms with the socialist exiles who found refuge in Switzerland. Although he had been recognized as a pretender to the Servian throne, there was no evidence to support the charge that he had any part or influence in plotting the wiping out of the Obrenovitch line. Serbia was glad to get rid of Alexander, and to place its allegiance in the hands of one whose long acquaintance with constitutional government ought to have enforced the lesson that the day had gone by for high-handed, autocratic measures of hereditary rulers in the Balkan States.

Disaffection in Hungary

Hungary suffered during the year from an outbreak of anti-Hungarian feeling in the province of Croatia. The Croatian revolt can best be explained by recalling the saying that Croatia is the Ireland of Hungary. It is in a chronic state of disaffection; and disturbances are continually springing up out of the long-standing race hatred between the Croats, who are Slavs, and the Magyars, who are Hungarians. There were two main causes of the outbreak in 1903: (1) general discontent among the peasantry, who ascribed the prevailing hard times to the financial methods of the Hungarian Government; (2) the alleged tyrannical rule of the Ban or Governor, Count Khuen Hedervary. In addition, several attempts were made to introduce the Magyar language into Croatia in spite of the fact that the Ausgleich of 1868 provided that Croatian should be the official language.

The trouble began with the opposition calling upon all hands to fight the Magyar government. For several months, at the beginning



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of the year, an excitement was maintained among the peasants by propagating declarations of this sort: "Whoever will not swear to vote against the Hungarian government, whoever is a friend of the Magyars, must be struck down. No harm can come to you; the Emperor protects you; the soldiers may not shoot; Crown Prince Rudolph lives in Russia, and at the decisive moment will come with the Russians to help you." This, and similar gospel, was preached by the parish priests, by students and agitators, and was circulated in leaflets smuggled into the country. Its effect upon an ignorant population can easily be imagined, and is shown by the following incidents:

A crowd of excited peasants wrecked the country house of an Hungarian nobleman in the belief that the Ban of Croatia was hidden there. They obliged him to swear in church that he had not hidden the Ban, and that he would not demand an indemnity for the damages done. At another place a crowd armed with hatchets and guns invaded the railway station and fired a number of shots at the officers. At Agram, on May 20, while the Croats were celebrating the anniversary of the death of a former Ban, a fierce conflict with the police broke out. Croatian students ran amuck, tearing down Hungarian signs and names on railway and other official buildings; smashing the windows of German institutions, beating a luckless Vienna merchant who ventured to speak German in the streets, and forcing German tradespeople to take down all shop signs not written in Croatian. It was a strange irony of fate that bracketed Hungarian and German in this community of outrage. Previously Agram had been the scene of similar disturbances when the Croats fell upon the Serbs for not printing the Serbo-Croatian language in Latin characters. As a consequence of these and other outbreaks, troops were called out and martial law was proclaimed.

A statement of Croatia's grievances was at once drawn up by the Croatian deputies and published on May 30. The Croats protested against the exclusive use of the Magyar language on the railways crossing Croatia and Slavonia, and against the fiscal abuses of the Hungarian authorities. According to the Magyar-Croat Compact of 1868, forty-four per cent of Croatian revenue should be used for local expenditure, and the remaining fifty-six devoted to common expenditure, the army, public works, the public debt, and other common inter-

ests. The Croats complained that by an arrangement of the Hungarian authorities, introduced into the compact on its renewal in 1898, the indirect taxes on sugar, petroleum, and beer had to be paid at the refineries, breweries, and distilleries in Hungary instead of in Croatia as formerly, and hence were reckoned as Hungarian revenue. In consequence Croatian revenue had fallen off \$100,000 a year since 1898; the home government had fallen into debt; public institutions had been starved; national education and improvements had been arrested, and emigration had increased at an alarming rate. The Hungarian authorities effectually suppressed the Croatian uprising, after coping with it for two or three months, though it remained reasonably certain that instead of soothing Croatian disaffection, they had permanently alienated the allegiance of the Croats.

II

Tendencies toward a revival of race feeling, and toward the cultivation of local tongues or dialects, strongly emphasized the general movement toward decentralization in Hungary. The Bohemian Czechs refrained from acts of violence during the year and contented themselves with issuing, in November, a complete program of their national requirements. It called for (1) the federalization of the Hapsburg Monarchy; (2) the application of the principle of the equality of the Czech and German languages in the central administration and whole public life of Bohemia; (3) the foundation of a second Czech University in Moravia; the creation of technical and secondary schools, and the reform of primary schools in Silesia to develop the Czech national spirit, and the organization of public schools for the Czech population in Lower Austria, especially in Vienna; (4) the protection of national minorities in order that their civic, national, and economic rights might not suffer harm; (5) the use of the Czech language in Czech regiments of the army; (6) electoral reform.

The Revolutionary Movement in Russia

Revolutionary feeling in Russia manifested itself in the army, at the universities, and among the persecuted Jews, Armenians, and Finns. In January two new organizations were formed among the army officers: the "Military Revolutionary Organization," for spreading socialistic gospel among the troops; and the "Army League," agitating

for the abolition of the autocratic government, though not professing socialism. Members of both organizations were arrested on various occasions for propagating revolutionary ideas, and the Minister of War issued a circular to the commanders of divisions, instructing them to institute a system of internal police supervision by appointing certain officers to keep watch on the conduct of their comrades. Revolutionary manifestos were circulated among recruits, and demonstrations against the Government were made at several recruiting stations. At Batum, for example, thousands of recruits marched in procession, carrying red flags inscribed: "Down with the Autocracy! Long live the Republic!" Riots among the students of the Universities of Tomsk, Kazan, and Kieff had to be put down by the military. At Kieff the enraged students tore down the portrait of the Czar and substituted a picture of Balmasheff, who assassinated the Minister of the Interior in 1902.

Anti-Semitic Outrages

Horror, indignation, and pity were aroused in every civilized country by the story of the massacre of the Jews at Kishineff. In that city of southern Russia, the Eastertide was stained with the blood of the victims of so-called Christian mobs. The anti-Semites began their shameful outrages on the morning of April 19, by breaking into Jewish shops and houses, appropriating goods, and maltreating the occupants. Inevitably rapine developed into murder, though the killing did not begin till the following day, Easter Sunday, and then not until the Jews began actively defending themselves. The murders and assaults were unspeakably cruel and revolting. Jewish children were flung out of the windows, Jewish women were outraged, and the bodies of the dead were frightfully mutilated. According to revised and authoritative statistics, forty-seven Jews were killed, eighty-four mortally wounded, 500 injured; 600 shops were sacked, 700 houses destroyed, and 2,000 families left homeless; property valued at \$1,150,000 was lost. It was after two days of riot and bloodshed that the authorities intervened! Not only did the troops do nothing to prevent or control the massacre, but it was stated on good authority that the police actually joined the rioters and disarmed the Jews who tried to defend themselves.

An official document emanating from M. Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, attributed the massacre to religious prejudice,

and to the report that the Jews had killed a Russian to obtain his blood for ritualistic purposes. This led to a popular clamor for revenge, and the ill-treatment of a Christian woman by a Jew furnished the immediate occasion for the outbreak. It was well known, however, that the authorities had anticipated something of the kind for at least two months, and had taken no measures to prevent it. The publication of the text of a secret order, sent on March 25 by M. Plehve to the Governor of the Province in which Kishineff is situated, showed that the Minister had instructed the Governor "to contribute to the stopping of disorders which may arise by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse to the use of arms."

On May 2 M. Plehve received a deputation of Jews from Kishineff and gave them assurances that the Government would take precautions to prevent any further disorders. He added that the conduct of the Jews and the spread of the Semitic revolutionary movement compelled the Government to take its revenge; he threatened rigorous treatment if the Jewish labor disturbances continued.

The Governor of the Province and the Chief of Police were removed from office as a punitive measure. At the close of the year 400 prisoners charged with participating in the massacre were given a trial with closed doors. Two of the prisoners were found guilty of murder and sentenced to five and seven years servitude respectively; twenty-two were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment; the remaining 376 were dismissed. The chief promoter of the outrage, the editor of the *Bessarabyetz*, an anti-Semitic paper subsidized by the Government, went scot-free. He and the well-to-do citizens who had instigated and organized the attack were excluded from the trial, all evidence likely to implicate them being carefully suppressed. Ten lawyers threw up their briefs because they alleged that "the judges interfered in the examination of witnesses in so flagrant and arbitrary a manner that it was impossible to tell who were the real culprits." They declared the trial a farce and charged the justices with acting in obedience to special instructions from the Government.

II

Notwithstanding the promises of M. Plehve, anti-Semitic riots again broke out in September, this time at Gomel, a town in the province of Mohileff, containing a population of 40,000 of whom 26,000 were

Jews. On September 11, a religious holiday, in a free fight at the fish market between Mujiks and Jews, a peasant was so severely injured that he died of his wounds. Feeling ran high. An attack on the Jewish quarter was threatened. The authorities, at the request of the Jews, placed on guard a regiment summoned from a neighboring encampment. When the disturbances began on September 14, this regiment, together with the police and many wealthy Christian citizens, formed a line of protection for the rioters, who proceeded to demolish a hundred houses, to plunder as many shops, and to club such victims as fell into their hands, whether men, women, or children. Eight Jews who tried to pass through this line to save their property or families were bayoneted. A band of Jews then armed themselves and tried to force a passage, but were promptly driven back by the troops. In the encounter five Christians were killed. After a day of carnage and unrestrained riot, the mob was checked by the soldiers and the police. Jewish families immediately began leaving the city and the country.

After Gomel, the Russian Government gave evidence of being sincerely anxious to check the anti-Semitic movement which seemed to have passed beyond all control. M. Plehve addressed a circular to the governors, prefects, and other authorities, declaring the policy of the Government to be the assimilation of the Jews and opposition to Zionism and to strengthening Jewish nationalism. It strictly forbade (1) the action of the "Mahids," or traveling agitators, who made speeches in the synagogues and at public meetings; (2) the assemblage of delegates of members of the Zionist organization; (3) the collection of subscriptions for the Jewish national fund; (4) the opening of schools and libraries for promulgating the old Hebrew language. At the same time the stringent regulations affecting the admission of Jews to Russian institutions of learning were greatly modified in favor of Jewish students.

III

A strong sidelight on the anti-Semitic propaganda was the impression, which rapidly gained ground among the ignorant, illiterate Mujiks, that the crusade had been ordered by the Czar, and that a document containing an imperial ukase to that effect would be sent to every town and village in which a single Jew

might be found. Mr. Abraham Cahan says: "It was one of the characteristic incidents of the crusade for peasants to ask their village clerk when 'that paper' was expected to reach his office, or for the residents of some suburb to come to town with wagons, sacks and implements of devastation, asking the first policeman they met when their services would be required. Sometimes, a Mujik who lived on friendly terms with his Jewish neighbor would tell the latter with tears in his eyes that he wished he could leave his house undestroyed; but that by doing so he would make himself liable to imprisonment for failing to do the behest of the Czar; and there were cases in which Jews saved their property and the honor of their wives and daughters by signing a document assuming all responsibility before the law for the failure of neighborly gentiles to destroy their household goods or the contents of their stores. The object of that 'imperial ukase' was, in the belief of these ignorant people, to turn over 'the ill-gotten wealth of the Christ-killers to the beloved children of the Czar, the peasants of orthodox Christian faith.' These rumors spread like wildfire, through the efforts of the police as well as of special emissaries of the anti-Semites; and, as in the case of the Kishineff massacre, the ferocity of the mob invariably reached its highest point when their target was the population of the slums,—poor, hard-working mechanics, whose 'ill-gotten wealth' consisted of their tools and the contents of their wretched hovels."

IV

Mass meetings of Jews and Christians were held in scores of American cities denouncing the persecution of the Jews in Russia and calling upon President Roosevelt to make representations to the Russian Government on the subject. At a monster meeting held in New York, ex-President Cleveland cautioned the people of America "to consider well the proper relationship between nations before demanding too pronounced interference on the part of our Government." At the same time he strongly urged: "Let the people of the United States, gathered together in such assemblages as this, in every part of the land, fearlessly speak to the civilized world, protesting against every pretense of civilization that permits mediaeval persecution, against every bigoted creed that forbids religious tolera-

tion and freedom of conscience, against all false enlightenment that excuses hatred and cruelty toward any race of men, and against all spurious forms of government protection that withhold from any human being the right to live in safety and to toil in peace."

As a result of agitation, contributions for the Kishineff sufferers from American sources mounted up to nearly \$100,000, and over 50,000 signatures of representative citizens were appended to the memorandum of a tentative petition to the Czar, drawn up by the executive council of the Jewish brotherhood, B'nai B'rith. This petition was turned over to President Roosevelt, who after a consultation with Secretary Hay and certain advisers, consented that the State Department instruct Mr. Riddle, our *chargé d'affaires* at St. Petersburg, to ask an audience with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs and ascertain whether the petition would be received and submitted to the Czar. Mr. Riddle carried out these instructions, on July 3, and was promptly informed by Count Lamsdorf, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that "in view of the representations made in the American newspapers, Russia would not, under any circumstances, receive the petition," this refusal being made independently of any consideration of the subject or terms of the petition. President Roosevelt, to show his sympathy with the object sought, directed that the text of the petition and its imposing list of signatures be filed in the archives of the State Department. In giving over the petition, the representative of the B'nai B'rith delivered to Secretary Hay a letter thanking the Government for placing the document where "for all time to come it will testify to the love of justice, humanity, and liberty which moved the President to give it countenance and its signers to father it."

Persecution of Armenians

Russian Armenians were roused to a violent outbreak in August, by a decree of the Russian Government confiscating the property of the Armenian Church in the Caucasus, valued at \$80,000,000. The reasons assigned were: (1) the more efficient control of the church's expenditure; (2) to put an end to the seditious activity of the Armenian clergy; (3) to punish certain fanatical Armenians charged with having assassinated prelates of the Orthodox Russian Church. In all the leading towns and cities of the Caucasus the enraged Ar-

menians assembled to discuss measures for preventing the execution of the decree. The police interfered, and riot and bloodshed followed. A band of 3,000 Armenians marched to the convent of Etchmiadzin, the residence of the Catholicos, or head of the Armenian Church, and compelled him to lead the demonstration protesting against the decree. Revolutionary pamphlets were distributed among the people. On October 27 three Armenians made an attempt to murder Prince Galitzin, Governor of the Caucasus, who had recommended the issue of the decree to the Russian Government. By the end of December the revolutionary movement had spread over entire Russian Armenia; even in the smallest and most remote villages, conflicts between civilians and the soldiers or police were almost daily occurrences. At Riesen many workmen were put in prison; at Kursk twenty-five teachers were arrested, and at Bostoff seventy-four students were seized by the police.

Armenians living in the United States prepared a petition asking President Roosevelt to intercede against the confiscation of Armenian church property, the massacre of the clergy, the closing of the churches, forcing American-Armenians to enter the Russian army, and the imprisonment of American-Armenians on visits to their native land. Considerable sympathy was aroused in the United States, though at the close of the year no official notice had been taken of the petition. In Russia the decree was strongly opposed by M. Witte, though heartily endorsed by M. Plehve, Minister of the Interior, and M. Pobiedonostse, Procurator of the Holy Synod through whose efforts it was eventually carried out. It is a significant fact that it remained for a Christian Government to confiscate this church property after it had been respected by Turkish and Moslem conquerors.

Oppression of the Finns

Finland's oppressed people also found moral support among a certain element of every civilized nation. Their condition in 1903 was somewhat apathetic. Loss of crops, pestilence, and famine, excessive migration, and military conscription had drained the country of its vitality. In February a decree was issued by the Russian Government, ordering that three-fifths of the young men of Finland, 14,978 in all, who in 1902 had failed to comply with the obligation to present themselves for five years service in the Russian army,

should at once be enrolled in the Landwehr, and that all of them who held offices should be immediately dismissed. The more spirited and thrifty of the young men at once emigrated; it is estimated that over one per cent of the population left the country. By the same decree the majority of the judges and officials of the high court of justice at Abo were dismissed without pension for instituting proceedings against a Russian General for his conduct during the demonstrations at Helsingfors the year before (see OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II), and the same punishment was meted out to the mayors of Viborg, Hango, and Helsingfors.

I

April 24, 1903, was a black day in the history of Finland. It witnessed the inauguration of a reign of terror by the ordinance of April 2 and the rescript of April 9, which General Bobrikoff had been authorized by the Czar to enforce. He returned to Finland with authority to close hotels, stores, and factories; to forbid general meetings, to dissolve clubs and societies, and to banish without legal process any one whose presence in the country he considered objectionable, the expulsion to be ratified by the Czar, unless the nature of the case required an immediate banishment. Persons thus deported were directed to live in a designated part of the Empire. The judiciary was made subservient to General Bobrikoff.

Realizing the helpless condition of Finland, the young Finnish party advised active resistance to take the place of the policy of passive resistance and protest with which the old Finnish party was content. This active resistance was aroused when the new rules of Bobrikoff attacked the time honored social institutions and customs. The postal director and his secretary refused to sign the order to open private mail, and resigned their positions. The Governor of the province of Uleaborg resigned, rather than carry out the order forbidding public meetings.

Arbitrary arrests and banishments were the rule of the day, and according to the few European papers which maintained correspondents in Finland, the formality of trials in so-called political offenses was entirely dispensed with. Several eminent professors and other distinguished persons were banished. When these exiles left Helsingfors they were met at all the stations en route to Stockholm

by immense crowds, showering them with flowers and expressions of sympathy, and singing the national anthem. Newspapers were suppressed until there appeared to be no Finnish papers left to express opinion upon the Russian policy, but the Danish and Swedish press voiced their deep indignation against the brutality of a half civilized great power toward a highly civilized small people.

II

In August the Czar ordered the Finnish Senate to draw up a bill amending existing ordinances with reference to municipal and communal authorities, the bill to be based on the principle of an increased government control of municipal and communal affairs, and its object to give permanency to certain provisions concerning the control of communal affairs in the powers shortly before granted to the Governor-General. The Russian Minister of the Interior, M. Plehve, undertook a vindication of the Russian policy in Finland in reply to an open letter addressed to him by Mr. W. T. Stead, published in the *English Review of Reviews* for August. Mr. Stead in his letter took it for granted that the relation between Finland and Russia was defined by the terms of an expressed compact which Russia may not alter or violate without Finland's consent. M. de Plehve ignored altogether the idea of such a compact, and took it for granted that the Czar's government had the right throughout the Czar's dominions to take such measures as Russian public policy might require.

Minister Plehve defended his country's policy in Finland as follows: He claimed that the manifesto of February 3 to 15, 1899, was not a negation of peaceful coöperation, but a confirmation of the combination of imperial unity with local autonomy, of autocracy with self government, which formed the principle of the Russian administration of the Grand Duchy of Finland. He claimed that there was nothing in this manifesto to shake the belief in the compatibility of the principles of autocracy with a large measure of local self government and civic liberty, and that the plans of the leaders of Russia had always looked toward Finland's gradual participation in the public life of the State, and that these intentions were announced afresh from the throne by the manifesto of February 26, 1903. The Russian Minister further declared that the military burden laid

on the population of Finland had not been increased but decreased, and that the attitude of the population of Finland toward Russia was not at all so inimical as the foreign press made it appear. He traced the emigration from Finland to the influence of bad harvest, industrial crises, and the demand for labor in foreign lands. A memorial presented to the Czar while he was at Darmstadt in November, by three exiled Finns, boldly charged M. Plehve with falsifying the situation in order to secure imperial acquiescence in the Minister's plans for abolishing Finnish liberties.

Germany's Drastic Treatment of the Danes

Germany's policy of Prussianizing the Danes in North Schleswig was carried out in an arbitrary manner that aroused resentment and resistance. Teaching in the schools continued in German; the elder children were forbidden to speak Danish in the school and on the playground, being punished if they did. The censorship on the six newspapers printed in Danish in North Schleswig was unusually severe. Heavy prison sentences were common for the mildest reflections on Germans or Germany. One editor was sentenced to four months imprisonment for saying that Bismarck approved of grain duties because he was a land owner and would profit by it. The oppression was carried very far in small things. The hoisting of the Danish flag was forbidden. The appearance of Danish actors was prohibited, as was the singing of Danish songs of a patriotic character. The severest means used by the Prussian Government to Germanize North Schleswig was banishment. The banishments for 1903 numbered about seventy. The Danish people continued the fight for their nationality, language, and customs.

Rebellion and Revolt

Rebellion and revolt necessitated active military operations in Africa: in Morocco the manoeuvres of the Pretender engaged the troops of the Sultan; in Somaliland the depredations of the Mad Mullah kept several British regiments at work; in the English Sudan the uprising of a new Mahdi called out two hundred cavalry from the garrison at Khartoum, and necessitated hasty and rigorous measures on the part of Colonel Mahon.

Uprising of the Moorish Pretender

The year 1902 closed with a complete rout at Tesa of the Moorish imperial army by Bu Hamara, soldier of fortune and Pretender to the throne of Morocco. Guns, rifles, ammunition, tents were abandoned by the Sultan's forces, who fled precipitately to Fez. Forty of the troops had been decapitated by the rebels and their heads adorned the Pretender's tent. To two natives sent by the London *Times* correspondent to interview the Pretender, he stated that he did not claim the throne; his mission was to lead a holy war against the Christians and to overthrow the Sultan on account of his European tendencies. Respecting these objectionable "tendencies," the Sultan himself said to an American visitor, Mr. J. W. Langerman: "It is said that I am going too fast, that I am a white-washed European and that I wear European dress." Naturally a royal Moor who rides a bicycle, plays billiards, paints pictures, and holds counsel with the Giaours is opposing the traditions of his countrymen. These trivialities doubtless aroused as much or more prejudice than the progressive policy of building railroads and opening up trade.

More than one instance during the campaign proved the Sultan to be wide-awake and ready to cope with emergencies. Early in January, when Bu Hamara was marching on Fez at the head of increasing troops of followers, the Sultan suddenly released his brother, Mulai Mohammed, from prison and announced publicly their reconciliation. Inasmuch as the Pretender had repeatedly declared that he sought the throne not for himself, but to reinstate Mulai Mohammed, his insurrection stood discredited in the eyes of his followers and there was nothing for him to do but call a halt and steal away. A little later, noting the growing popularity of his brother, the Sultan placed him under surveillance, and in person took the field against the Pretender. On January 29 he engaged the rebels a short distance south of Fez, and after three hours fighting scattered the remnants of Bu Hamara's army.

Escaping, no one knows how or where, Bu Hamara remained "the man of mystery" for several months, the hero of countless wild tales and imaginary adventures. Then in April without warning he appeared with a band of rebels on the north coast, captured the town of Frajana, driving the Moorish garrison for protection within

the lines of the Spanish convict colony at Melilla. In May, Tetuan was attacked, but the Sultan's troops held their own. In October the imperial army met with some reverses, though they gradually regained their positions. At all events at the end of the year, notwithstanding the rebellion and the fact that the Riff tribes had at one time proclaimed his brother ruler, Abdul Aziz was still the Sultan of Morocco.

Activities of the "Mad Mullah"

Inconclusive operations against the Mullah, Abdullah Mohammed, occupied the greater part of the year in the British Protectorate of Somaliland. After the Mullah's defeat of Colonel Swayne in October of the previous year, Brigadier General Manning had been placed in supreme command of the British forces, strengthened by reënforcements of Sikhs from India. At the end of the year he had relieved the garrison at Bohotle, and obtained permission from the Italian Government to pursue the Mullah's forces into Italian Somaliland (see OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II). Early in January of 1903, Obbia, an Italian coast town, was selected as a base from which to send a strong expedition into the interior. Yusuf Ali, the local sheikh, proved so obstructive that it was found necessary to deport him. The coöperation of Abyssinia was sought and secured; King Menelik's forces shortly afterward killing a large number of the Mullah's men. Late in February a flying column under the Brigadier-General was sent from Obbia to Galkayu, where a force of 1,881 rifles was concentrated, with the hope of driving the enemy into the uninhabitable and waterless region to the east. Immediately the Mullah evacuated Galadi, and when the Brigadier-General arrived there at the end of March he found himself unable to get within fighting distance of the enemy.

On April 10 a column of 520 under Colonel Cobbe left Galadi on a reconnoitering expedition. Forty miles westward, on April 17, Colonel Cobbe, having pretty strong evidence that Captain Olivey, who had previously been sent out to hunt the enemy, was engaged in fighting, sent out 200 men under Colonel Plunkett as a relief. Colonel Plunkett pursued the enemy into the country west of Gumburru, where he was led into ambush. He held out until ammunition was gone, when he formed a square and made a bayonet charge

in the direction of Cobbe's camp, but the square was overwhelmed by the Somali hordes and all except thirty-seven of the combined British forces were killed. On the missing list were the names of 185 soldiers and ten officers, including Captain Olivey and Colonel Plunkett. On hearing of this disaster General Manning promptly went to the relief of Colonel Cobbe, and brought back his force safely to Galadi. On the way he fought one battle in which it was reported that 2,000 of the enemy were killed. The Mullah is said to have had 10,000 men in the field at this time.

In a dispatch to the home Government General Manning thus explained the incident: "From a narrative of the survivors of the action, it is evident that the enemy was in overwhelming numbers, and that the Mullah fought with a fanatical bravery that he has never displayed before. It is also evident that the Somalis were not alone engaged in this action, but that the Adones were for the most part employed. From the report of Colonel Cobbe it is evident that disobedience of orders on the part of Colonel Plunkett in pushing on to get into contact with the enemy resulted in the annihilation of his force and that of Colonel Olivey. Colonel Plunkett paid the penalty of his life for his disobedience of orders, and he and all those who were killed at Gumburu fought with the greatest gallantry in endeavoring to retrieve the day."

General Manning found it necessary to set out immediately in another direction to save another force from being overwhelmed. Major Gough and a force 400 strong were attacked on April 27 at Dartoleh, and in fighting his way back lost thirteen men, and had twenty-five wounded. His forces were then scattered at Damot and Bohotle, where he was barely able to hold out until the former was relieved on June 21, and the latter on June 26 by General Manning's forces. So far, all operations had failed, and it was necessary to reorganize the columns and begin a movement on a much larger scale. On November 15, General Manning, having reinforced the army by the coöperation of Abyssinia and two powerful coast tribes, crossed the hundred miles of desert between Bohotle and Galadi and returned, leaving Colonel Cobbe with a garrison at Galadi. The plan was to bring the Mullah to bay or to drive him on the Abyssinians. Early in December the Mullah, who had been raiding the country for sev-

eral months, occupied Mudug, and there was some sharp fighting at Damot. On December 19 Colonel Kenna engaged the enemy at Jidballi, but found them so strong that he was forced to retire. Thus the year closed without any decisive results, and with the best cards in the hands of the Mullah.

How formidable an adversary the Mullah was, seemed to have impressed itself upon almost every one except the British government. A French writer, M. Hugues Le Roux, in the *Revue de Paris* declared that the nickname of the "Mad Mullah" is foolish and misleading. "Abdullah, in spite of the fact that he is regarded more or less as a savage by his adversaries, is a man of considerable learning, familiar with every kind of theological subtlety, and quite able to work on the religious fanaticism of his followers. Already he has obtained extraordinary influence over the inhabitants of Somaliland. He has passed various decrees, one of which makes all marriages performed by a British subject null and void. He also freely excommunicates all those who do not follow his peculiar tenets. Up to 1903, he had met with only one important reverse, that inflicted on him in the spring of 1900 by the soldiers of King Menelik. As a religious leader he wields a two fold power and certain loyal tribes while perfectly willing to live contented and happy lives under British rule, are determined to resist every effort to make them fight their co-religionists."

Summary Extinction of a New Mahdi

Fear of a recrudescence of religious fanaticism and violence led to the attack, capture, and execution of a new Mahdi in the Sudan before England was even aware of his existence. This new leader, Mahomed El Amin, was a native of Tunis about forty years of age, who had twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca and had established himself at El Obeid where he had attracted to himself a large following. He had shown much ability and energy in propagating his religious views, and had been at work for some time, when in November Colonel Mahon, the Deputy Governor of the Sudan, heard that he had proclaimed himself Mahdi, and had gathered a strong band together in the Tagalla mountains. Colonel Mahon promptly ordered two hundred cavalry from the garrison, and went with them two

hundred miles up the White Nile, having given orders for two hundred infantry from El Obeid to meet him near Tagalla. After joining forces, a march of five days across the desert brought the army to the village where the Mahdi had fortified himself. Here he was entrapped by the unexpected rapidity of Colonel Mahon's movements and easily forced to surrender, since most of his followers had deserted. He was taken to El Obeid, where he was immediately tried and hanged. The summary extinction of the religious leader met with some harsh criticism as a hasty and unnecessary measure on the part of Colonel Mahon. It was defended by the home Government on the ground that constant vigilance and promptitude of action on the part of the authorities were the only means of preventing an ultimate uprising accompanied by all the horrors of Mahdism.

Massacre of the Babists

Strongly reminiscent of Kishineff was the massacre of the Babists in Persia. On June 26 the Moslem population of Yezd began hunting down and slaughtering with great cruelty the followers of Mirza Ali Mahomed, the Bab, who was executed at Tabriz in 1849. The Babists have progressed steadily in numbers and influence, in spite of Moham-medan persecution. (See OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. I.) The strongest motive leading to their massacre was that the Babists had been preaching against the rapacity of the Mullahs, who had incited the populace to outrages which the Persian authorities took no steps to prevent or punish. Moslem priests headed the mobs, and the civil authorities were induced to participate in the work of extermination, which ended three days later and then only when no more Babists could be found. Yezd, the scene of the massacre, is a picturesque, tumbledown, old city in Fars, owing such importance as it has to its position on a caravan route. The last remnants of the old sect of fire-worshippers abide there.

Insurrection in the Philippines

Insurrection in the Philippines as an organized attempt to subvert the authority of the United States was declared to be entirely at an end in the report of the Philippine Commission published at the beginning of the year. Notwithstanding this pronouncement, sev-

eral uprisings gave evidence that the natives had not become entirely reconciled to their transfer to American sovereignty. According to official reports, however, the attacks during the year were made largely by ladrones or banditti. In April and May Captain Pershing led an expedition against the Moros of the Mindanao lake region, which resulted in the capture of the fort of Bacolod, and the forts of the Taraca Moros. During the engagement several hundred Moros were killed, though the American loss was very slight. In November, the natives of the Island of Sulu became so unruly, that Major General Wood conducted a campaign against them. Arriving on the Island of Jolo on November 12, with about 1,000 men, he soon located the Moros, and promptly began operations against them. They were driven to an inland town in which their leader, Panglima Hassan, had his headquarters. Hassan surrendered with a small following; the rest of the Moros took to the swamps, only to be driven out again on November 16, leaving 76 dead behind them. The following day many more were killed and the rest scattered. Altogether 400 Moros were killed during this brief five days' campaign.

II

There was a strong suspicion that the Sultan of Sulu, the nominal head of the Moros, was behind the anti-American demonstrations. Some light was thrown on the immediate causes of the trouble in the annual report of Major-General G. W. Davis. "Among the Moros, the debtor who cannot pay becomes with his family the slave of the creditor. The debtor thus loses all his rights and his children can be sold throughout the archipelago. He can, however, buy the liberty of his family at the risk of his own life, that is, for the largest number of Christians whom he can slay. If the debtor accepts that proposition, he becomes that moment a juramentado, and when he arrives at a sufficient state of exaltation he is sent into a Christian community on his deadly mission." How these juramentados comport themselves was related in a letter from Major H. L. Scott: "No one is allowed to go beyond the outposts here without an armed guard, and it is advisable to go about the streets armed on account of juramentados, one of whom got through a gate past a sentinel about four days ago, ran through the barrack yard, slashed a soldier

across the back, and fell dead on the main plaza, shot five times by a fusillade from our soldiers which also killed a trumpeter who was getting ready for guard. . . . All during the spring the garrison has practically been in a state of siege. You will see by this, the way peace has been kept, and at what sacrifice."

Major-General James F. Wade, commanding the Division of the Philippines, who was sent to Jolo to investigate the trouble there, reported to the Government in December that General Wood's attack on the Moros was necessary under the unsettled conditions prevailing there.

CHAPTER V

SHOCKS TO NATIONAL PRIDE

Ex-President Cleveland in a public address at Philadelphia charged the American people with the vice of a national vanity. He deplored the general conviction that no matter what may go wrong with us for a time, things in the end will be sure to come out right, and that meanwhile it is not worth while to make any great ado about evils that are not likely to prove fatal. Such being the case, our national pride certainly received a good many shocks during the year 1903, and a comparative study of the European nations fails to show as wholesale corruption or a similar state of lawlessness in any other country except Servia, Russia, or Turkey. The postal scandal, corruption of the Missouri legislature, the Indian land lease frauds, graft in many of our leading cities, lynchings not only in the Southern States, but in Delaware and Indiana; and insurrection in the Colorado mines, are examples hardly paralleled by the German army scandals, French political corruption, the Hungarian bribery scandal, or the violent labor disturbances all over the continent.

United States Postal Frauds

The Post Office Department for the last half century had doubtless been subject to abuses, but a new crop of them seemed to spring up in the period of expansion following the war with Spain, and charges were made of so serious a nature that an investigation was inevitable. It was said that promotions had been sold, that there was extravagance and graft in the matter of salaries and allowances, that contractors had been favored, that men in office had used their influence to force supplies upon postmasters, and that the rural delivery officers and carriers had used their influence to help favored concerns to dispose of their wares. The reported discovery of frauds and of sales of promotion in the New York office only intensified this

feeling. Postmaster-General Payne, who had the reputation of being a spoilsman, showed considerable zeal and ability in unearthing frauds and in reforming his department. While he seemed to begin the investigation in a half-hearted manner, he warmed up to it in a way that convinced his critics that he was in earnest.

He was ably assisted by Robert J. Wynne, who had been appointed First Assistant Postmaster-General by President Roosevelt. Soon after taking office, Mr. Wynne found it impossible to secure the information he desired from subordinates. Convinced that dishonest practices were going on, he is said to have carried the case straight to the President, who promised support. The brunt of the work of investigation fell upon Fourth-Assistant Postmaster-General Bristow, whose methods were searching and thorough.

Wholesale Indictment of Corrupt Officials.

The last phase of the investigation was reached October 5, when the grand jury at Washington handed in the final indictments against the men charged with defrauding the Government by getting graft out of the postal service. The dragnet set by the President caught some big fish; two assistant attorneys-general, a superintendent of the money order division, a superintendent of the free delivery bureau, a superintendent of the division of salaries and allowances, a former congressman, a state senator, a mayor of an important city, several members of business concerns, and a number of smaller fry, amounting in all to twenty-seven persons indicted for conspiring to rob the Government.

George W. Beavers, former Superintendent of the Division of Salaries and Allowances, was indicted twice by the Brooklyn grand jury, and four times by the District of Columbia. Early in the spring, when the danger of investigation threatened him, he had resigned from office. The offenses with which he was charged were in the nature of selling promotions, and he was also implicated in the deals by which August W. Machen, former General Superintendent of Free Delivery, had made commissions on letter boxes, the standards that support package mail boxes, the time-of-collection indicators on mail boxes, carriers' satchels, registered letter cases, satchel straps, the paint on mail boxes, and many other small transactions too nu-

merous to be enumerated here. George E. Green, President of the International Time Recording Company, was apprehended September 19, and held on \$10,000 bail on two indictments, charging him with conspiracy and bribery in connection with the sale of time recorders to the department. He was charged with paying sums, ranging from \$325 to \$1,042, to George W. Beavers.

One incident of the indictments was exceptionally pathetic. James Noble Tyner, once Postmaster-General of the United States, seventy years old and partially paralyzed, ended thirty-nine years of prominent connection with the Government with threatened imprisonment for permitting "get-rich-quick" concerns and other fraudulent companies to use the mails in return for personal remuneration.

Previously, in April, Mrs. Tyner had complicated the delicate situation by a sensational movement. With the help of an expert safe opener, she had broken into the safe in her husband's office and removed all the papers it contained, giving out that she had done this by his orders. As soon as the department discovered what had been done inspectors were sent to the Tyner house to demand the papers. General Tyner and his wife refused to make restitution, declaring that the documents were personal property, but on April 25 the General's attorneys turned the papers over to the department. General Tyner's resignation had already been requested, on the ground of physical unfitness, and the resignation was to have gone into effect on May 1, but on learning of the removal of the papers, his summary dismissal was ordered by Postmaster-General Payne.

James T. Metcalf, former Superintendent of the Money Order Division, was charged with opposing the acceptance of the lowest bid for printing the money order forms of the Government, and trying to secure the acceptance of a bid \$45,000 higher from the Winkoop Company, a firm in which his son was employed. Mr. Metcalf had been removed from office for this "indiscretion" by Postmaster-General Payne in June. He, with his son Norman, and another employé of the Winkoop Company were included in the indictments.

Maladministration of the Washington Office

In June, Postmaster-General Payne had made public the reply of Fourth-Assistant Postmaster Bristow to the charges of Seymour W.

Tulloch, former cashier of the Washington City Post-Office, regarding irregularities in the administration of that office; also reports of an investigation made by inspectors in 1899 and 1900. The inspectors said that the records showed direct orders from superior authority for payment of questionable items, many illegal appointments, the payment of two salaries to one person, and the disbursements of thousands of dollars for which no service was performed. Evidence of graft abounded, and incontestable proofs of ignorance and criminal carelessness were found in almost every department connected with the office.

The officials immediately involved were former Postmaster-General Smith and his First-Assistant, Perry S. Heath. The report was accompanied by a statement from Postmaster-General Payne in which he said: "The subject matter of the complaint is four years old, and all action thereunder was closed over two years ago. The charge of Mr. Tulloch is in its essence against President McKinley and Postmaster-General Smith. With regard to the present management of the Washington Post-Office and the conduct of any and all men charged with wrongdoing during the present administration, a thorough and searching investigation is now being made."

The report of Holmes Conrad and Charles J. Boneparte, the special commissioners appointed by the President to investigate charges of Seymour W. Tulloch's maladministration in the Washington Post Office was made public in December. The commissioners practically sustained all the Tulloch charges. They found that there had been improper disbursements of the public funds and unauthorized expenditures. In fixing responsibility they said: "The persons primarily responsible for the abuses and the resulting scandals appear to have been Perry S. Heath and George W. Beavers. Charles Emory Smith, late Postmaster-General, James Willett, late Postmaster of Washington, John A. Merritt, his successor, Robert J. Tracewell, Comptroller, and Henry A. Castle, Auditor, all appear to have shared in some measure their responsibilities; the late Postmaster-General for his seeming failure to appreciate the gravity of their misconduct and the necessity for its punishment; the two Postmasters for toleration of these abuses and obedience to improper orders without exposure or protest; and the auditor and comptroller for their laxity in permitting the payment of illegal and fraudulent claims."

The Bristow Report

Mr. Bristow's full report on his investigations of the postal fraud was not given to the public until December 17. It served mainly to emphasize more strongly the official summaries of those reports previously published. It left nothing in doubt as far as concerns the ground covered by its survey, and Mr. Bristow revealed himself to the country as one responsible official who dealt in neither evasions nor concealments.

"The investigation made by Mr. Bristow discloses a condition of gross corruption," wrote President Roosevelt in his memorandum on the report, adding that "the immediate reformation of the service by the turning out of the offenders is not in itself enough to meet the demands of justice. The cases against both those within and those without the post office department, who by their acts have brought themselves within the grasp of the law, will be pushed with the utmost vigor. Every effort must be made to see that both the delinquent official and the outsider who shares his guilt are punished to the limit of the law."

No investigation of such magnitude was ever undertaken by our government as the investigation of the postal frauds which the Bristow report made public. Forty trained men were employed in the work continuously for months. Records of more than one thousand post offices were examined. Hundreds of witnesses were questioned and cross-examined. The books of bankers and corporations were looked into, and the records and accounts in various divisions of the Post Office Department for a decade were dug up. Facts were recorded, regardless of whom they affected, and as fast as they were brought to light, they were placed in the hands of the proper federal officers, and the courts and grand juries were left to draw the conclusions. Mr. Bristow himself refused to be drawn into the controversies over the report with those whose wrong doings were uncovered.

II

The Post-Office Department was shown by this investigation to be the greatest business enterprise in the world, but its administration had been honeycombed with corruption for a number of years. The report also made it apparent that the entire department needed overhauling and re-organizing; that it needed many improvements to put its service on par with the service of other civilized lands. With the

exception of the rural free delivery system no advance had been made within ten years. The payment for the transportation of the mails was practically at the same rate as it was twenty years before, while the cost of transporting other classes of matter had been reduced one-third to one-half. The frauds and scandals were trifles compared with the greater loss and waste which were a daily burden upon federal revenues. Through 75,924 post offices more than 745,000,000 pounds of mail matter was delivered during the year. The Money Order Department handled more than \$313,000,000. Yet according to the facts here brought to light this great business was superintended by an inorganic machine; heads who were not expected to know the business; a civil service machine that comprised the real post office; parts of two outside departments enforcing the laws and auditing the mere book-keeping accounts; antiquated laws governing; Congress directing; private interests watching both the Congress and the post-office.

Where the United States was shown to lag most behind other countries was in the parcels-post system. In Germany, where this system is most highly perfected, a parcels post does practically all the German express business at low rate, depending upon weight and distance; and through agreements with other countries Germany may send parcels around the world. German merchants deliver most of their goods by mail, and the small shopkeeper is provided with as good a delivery service as the larger. Both the German and the English post-offices maintain this parcels-post system and a telegraph system, and the English office further maintains a savings bank. All these items seemed to point to the fact that there was still much to be desired in the American system, and that more economical management and arrangement would permit of improvements and of lower charges to the public.

Mr. Bristow's Career

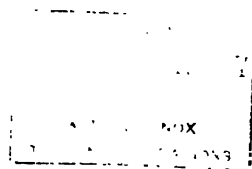
Certain items in Mr. Bristow's biography are worthy of record. They point to a man of character, similar in many respects to that of Abraham Lincoln—the character which places honesty and honor above everything else, and this character has been the groundwork of Mr. Bristow's greatest achievements in the public service. Mr. Bristow was born in Kentucky in 1861 and lived there until he came of



JOSEPH L. BRISTOW



HENRY C. PAYNE



age, when he emigrated to Kansas and settled on a homestead in the southern part of the State. After his marriage, and when most young men had given up hope of further schooling, he moved his family to the seat of Baker University, the largest Methodist college of Kansas, and educated himself for the Methodist ministry. Twenty years of hardship and privation in Kansas, beginning with his attempts at stock-raising, including his student days, and his later efforts, developed his genius for hard, persistent work. He entered the ministry, but was compelled to seek some means for supporting his family, and toward the close of his college life ran a small weekly paper, which eventually turned his mind from the ministry to politics. He afterwards purchased the *Salina Daily Republican*, and soon became an editor and a power in Kansas State politics. He became Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, and in 1898 was appointed Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General.

That this post requires great attention to details is shown by the fact that of 75,000 postmasters in the United States 69,000 were appointed by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General. The Secret Service work of the Department is under his supervision. If a registered letter is tampered with, or a post office burglarized the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General must have his inspectors report on the case. All of this work was done so well that the Fourth-Assistant was chosen to investigate the postal frauds in Cuba after the Spanish-American war.

Mr. Bristow began the exposure of fraud long before he became connected with the Post-Office Department, and during his first campaign as Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee of Kansas he brought to light the connivance of the Populist administration with the Metropolitan police of Kansas City in shielding a gang of lottery manipulators and policy dealers. The exposure resulted, not only in overthrowing the administration, but in passing the most stringent lottery and gambling laws in the United States.

Serious Charges Against General Wood

Like all men who rise rapidly in public life and pass ahead of their seniors in years and service, General Leonard Wood was made the target for a good many arrows. The Senate Committee on Mili-

tary Affairs began probing his case in November. The most serious charge against him was that of maladministration in Cuba. Friends of Estes G. Rathbone, who was involved in the Cuban postal scandals, insisted that General Wood was really responsible for irregularities for which Rathbone had suffered. Another charge was that an article which had appeared in the *North American Review* over the name of Major Runcie had been inspired by General Wood, inasmuch as the article attacked Major-General Brooke, General Wood's superior officer at that time. To have inspired it, or asked that it be written, would have been a grave offense. The Rathbone testimony was a voluminous document, dealing especially with the alleged connection of General Wood with the "jai alai," the gambling company which was given a concession during General Wood's term as Governor-General of Cuba. It stated that after the concession was awarded, the "jai alai" presented to General and Mrs. Wood a valuable silver dinner set. Major Runcie testified that the article in the *North American Review* was written by him in pursuance of an understanding between General Wood, Ray Stannard Baker, a magazine writer, and himself, at a dinner at General Wood's house. All these charges were denied by General Wood, and the investigation was still pending at the close of the year.

Public Land Frauds

One government scandal followed closely on the heels of another. During the summer months the Department of the Interior gathered together proofs of extensive land frauds, involving great sums of money, and the names of many persons fairly prominent in official and private life. The graft was operated in some such manner as this: Several railroad systems, a few members of congress, minor officials, and private citizens were engaged in a scheme by which they had acquired large holdings of comparatively worthless government lands in the West. The Government was then induced to make forest reserves including these worthless tracts, the holders of which were able under the Lieu Land Forest Reserve Act of June 4, 1897, to select in exchange for their holdings valuable land in other districts.

I

Secretary Hitchcock, in the annual report of the Department of the Interior, published in December, stated that a quiet investigation of

the land frauds had been in operation since January, and that those in charge of the inquiry thought that the guilty persons could soon be brought to justice. The frauds, Secretary Hitchcock asserted, were not so extensive as former reports had indicated: "While several hundred thousand acres of public lands are involved in the illegal transactions brought to light, the number of acres to which patents have been obtained by the perpetrators of the frauds is comparatively small. It is proper to say that some of the statements which have appeared in the newspapers are more or less exaggerated, and the others are merely surmises. The statements to the effect that five United States Senators and a large number of Representatives were implicated, and that the land involved was valued at \$20,000,000, are without foundation."

II

A flagrant abuse of right and humanity in dealing with the Indians was involved in the charge that the nation's wards in Indian Territory had been deprived of the land granted to them by the government. Indian agents and inspectors, Federal officers of high position, Governors of Indian nations, and even members of the Dawes Commission, were charged with being accessories in the operations. A special agent of the Indian Rights' Association made a report which confirmed the reports of irregularities made by government officials in the Indian Territory, and it was plain that these officials had helped to swindle the very ones whose interests they were supposed to protect; and while the charges were generally believed, no great agitation resulted from the fact that certain commissioners were suspected of using their positions to feather their own nests. It was too old a story. Timber lands, farming lands, mining lands and lands available for railroad concessions, had too long yielded a revenue to the grafters who were liberally paid to prevent fraud and to see that the Government got what was coming to it. After millions had been stolen in this way the case in the Indian Territory naturally seemed a small and insignificant one. Secretary Hitchcock was accused of complicity in the operation by withholding in the interest of St. Louis banks funds which should have been expended for improvements in towns of the Territory, but this charge was vigorously denied, and no proofs of it were produced by the close of the year.

Startling abuses were brought to light by the special agent of the Department of Justice respecting irregularities in the enforcement of the naturalization law which went into operation on January 3rd. He reported that a Chicago judge admitted eighteen hundred foreigners to citizenship in one evening, and that in Ohio more than two hundred and fifty thousand aliens were admitted to citizenship by probate judges who had no right to administer the oath, the law declaring that the foreigner shall be admitted to citizenship by the Circuit or District Court of the United States or a District or Supreme Court of the Territory, or a Court of Record of any of the States having common law jurisdiction and a seal and a clerk.

The Holland Boat Scandal

Revelations made early in the year of an attempt to bribe a member of the House Naval Affairs Committee divulged a disagreeable scandal. Congressman Lessler, of the Seventh New York District, charged that an attempt had been made to buy his vote in favor of the government purchase of Holland's submarine boats. When the Naval Affairs Committee of the House resumed its sessions on the 26th of January the witness, Doblin, who had testified a few days before that he was informed by ex-Congressman Quigg that there was five thousand dollars in it for Mr. Montague Lessler if he would vote for a favorable report on the boats, again took the stand and swore that Mr. Quigg had made no such statement to him. Mr. Quigg denied Doblin's first charge, but Mr. Lessler stuck to his testimony that the offer of a bribe by Mr. Quigg had been conveyed to him by Doblan several weeks previous. Representative Charles Wheeler, of Kentucky, elicited the information that even while the investigation was in progress, one of the very committee was in constant communication with the Submarine boat company, and the public, though only partially enlightened, felt that there was evidence that an active lobby, prepared to use bribery to obtain its ends, existed for the purpose of influencing the committee.

Missouri's Corrupt Legislature

The exposure of the Missouri "boodle" scandal and corruption in the Missouri legislature showed that every bill of any consequence intro-

duced before the Forty-first and Forty-second General Assemblies of Missouri was either hindered or promoted by the use of money. In the Forty-first Assembly it cost the Baking Powder Trust \$27,500 to defeat the repeal of the present law, exclusive of the \$5,000 which United States Senator Stone was paid for his speech in behalf of the "Pure Food and Missouri Health Society." In the Forty-second Assembly it required \$25,000 to defeat the repeal of the alum bill. The defeat of the Audubon Bill cost \$5,000. This measure was backed by the moral and humane elements, as well as by sportsmen interested in regulating the killing of game; but it was opposed by marketmen and wholesale milliners. A bill to allow slot machines to be placed in saloons, drug stores, and other public places was defeated after \$8,000 had been spent in an effort to pass it. "Get-rich-quick" concerns, which fleeced thousands of people, paid the members of the upper and lower Houses to forego the investigation which was started early in the Forty-second Assembly.

II

All these exposures were the outcome of the Legislative Committee appointed to investigate charges of bribery in connection with a bill to give the School Book Trust a monopoly in the State. The committee stumbled into the Baking Powder Trust, called two witnesses who refused to answer questions, and then hesitated; but unfortunately for the boodlers Circuit-Attorney Joseph W. Folk had come into the possession of facts, and despite all threats of vengeance he proceeded with his official duties. A striking example of what honesty, energy, and courage can do for corrupt politics was illustrated by this young circuit attorney of St. Louis. He did not ask for his position; he made no effort to conciliate men who could advance him; he boldly declared that if elected he would send to jail any rascals he could get hold of. He proved that he meant what he said. He indicted the boss of his own party, and had him convicted; he filled the jails with rulers of both parties. He convicted eighteen local corruptionists, drove others into exile, and then moved on to the State Capitol. There he reduced the Lieutenant-Governor to the position of a whimpering informer.

Some startling confessions were made. Lieutenant-Governor John A. Lee, after running away from the city, was so influenced by Mr.

Folk's representations that he came back to resign his office and make a clean breast of everything. In November when the case of the State of Missouri against the boodlers in the State Senate, who engineered the baking powder deal came up, Lieutenant-Governor Lee testified for the State against Senator Frank Farris. According to his testimony seven of the eight members of the committee on criminal jurisprudence had agreed to hold up the Independent Manufacturer's Bill to secure the repeal of the anti-alum law, by which the Baking Powder Trust had prevented any competition in the State of Missouri.

Though he secured the indictment of a large number of prominent men for bribery, Circuit-Attorney Folk found that some of the worst of the criminals were out of his reach, having taken refuge in Canada or Mexico, where we have no extradition treaties covering bribery. Determined to get around this obstacle, Mr. Folk went to Washington in October for the purpose of convincing the President that bribers are criminals in the same sense that embezzlers are criminals; that if the extradition treaties cover the one class, they should also cover the other.

As a result it was announced that the State Department would promptly begin negotiations for the desired treaties. President Roosevelt in his annual message urged that bribery should be made an extraditable offense. "While there may have been as much official corruption in former years," he said, "there has been more developed and more brought to light in the immediate past than in the preceding century of our country's history. It should be the policy of the United States to leave no place on earth where a corrupt man fleeing from this country can rest in peace."

III

Mr. Folk's heroic fight was hailed as a sign of the coming of better days in the political life of Missouri; it was rewarded by popular recognition, and by widespread expression of the public desire to put him in a place of power. So popular did he become in his City and State that a hundred newspapers of Democratic persuasion declared him their choice for Governor. He was looked upon as the coming man in Missouri. He is a native of the state of Tennessee. He went to St. Louis in 1898 to practice law, made himself popular with the labor element by settling a streetcar strike, to which he owed his

nomination by the Democrats to the office of Circuit Attorney. His courage in stamping out corruption was of the moral rather than of the physical sort. As he drew the net tighter around the boodlers he was beset. He was threatened, spied upon; his early history was searched for the discovery of some flaw or weakness in his record or character, but he withstood all alike, and his dogged persistence soon spread panic among the members of the gang. He could not be pulled off, or hushed up by offers of bribes or threats of violence. His statement of the case in a public address on "Civic Righteousness" was as follows:

"After all these exposures there can be no honorable conciliation. The allies of the boodlers do not dare come out in the open and defend corruption, but on one pretext or another they seek to accomplish the same purpose. They cry out that I am slandering Missouri. Did any one ever claim that the exposure and punishment of murder, arson or other crimes, slandered the State? Why are they so sensitive about official thieves being caught in the net of the law? They object to so much hell being raised. Hell cannot be raised unless it is there, and if it is, it is better to raise it than to allow it to remain and rot the State. Exposure and punishment of public plunderers is a State's honor, not its shame. The disgrace is in tolerance, not in correction. It is more honorable to correct evils than to bear them in ignoble silence. The only way to stamp out corruption is to strike it hard whenever and wherever it raises its ugly head."

The Golden Age of Graft

District-Attorney Jerome, of New York City, announced his opinion that there was a rotten streak running through all our system of doing public and private business. According to Mr. Lincoln Steffens, the greatest grafters looked upon this as the golden age of their profession. Others insisted that there was more graft in earlier times simply because there were more opportunities and greater temptations. They pointed to that great grafter in the first half of the last century, Samuel Swartout, appointed by Andrew Jackson to the post of Collector of the Port of New York; to the fact that Washington and Adams had each removed a defaulter, and Madison had turned out three. After the Civil War came the whiskey conspiracy,

and the Belknap Post Tradership scandal, while in President Arthur's administration were exposed the Star Route frauds in connection with contracts for carrying mails. The long list of scandals in 1903, part of which we have just recorded, two Boston embezzlements on a large scale, the exposure of blackmailing among the walking delegates of labor unions, and the grafting discovered in the Methodist Book Concern, seemed to indicate that the trail of the grafter was over almost every field of man's endeavor.

Blackmailing and Extortion

The indictment of Sam Parks and his colleagues of the House-smiths Union, revelations made in the case of Treasurer Murphy of the Brooklyn Stone Cutters Union, and the general investigation undertaken by the Chicago Grand Jury of like practices, gave evidence that blackmail, extortion, and bribery in the interests of labor unions were carried on on a large scale. On one indictment and trial Parks, "walking delegate of Local No. 2," was found guilty of extorting \$200 from a New Jersey contractor for calling off a strike. Three other indictments pointed to extortion for sums running from \$300 up to \$2,000. He was convicted and sentenced to two years and six months in Sing Sing prison, though through his attorneys he was released on bail. His shaven head was conspicuous at the front of the Labor Day parade in New York. He had counted on that day for his vindication by the labor organizations, but only 8,000 or 10,000 men marched behind him instead of the expected 100,000, and he was hissed more frequently than he was cheered. He soon began to act like a wild beast at bay. On September 11 his local organization was suspended from the International Union of House-smiths and Bridgemen for acting contrary to the interests of the general body; for calling strikes in violation of previous agreements with employers; and for usurping strike control, which properly belongs to the executive board of the local. This was a hard blow to the power of Sam Parks. He admitted that he was down and out. His union accepted his resignation with only one dissenting vote. Blackmail and extortion finally landed him where he belonged, and in November he began his term in Sing Sing prison. A strong, brutal, masterful man, Parks had used his power for his personal benefit, and lived in coarse luxury

upon his stealings and extortions. In the midst of prosperity, he had caused the loss of a million of dollars by holding up building operations. He was described by a popular writer as a "County Down Irishman, forty years old, who in early life had done the roughest, hardest work. Ignorant, a bully, a criminal by instinct, inarticulate except in abuse and blasphemy, he yet possessed those curious Irish qualities of leadership, that strange force of personality, that certain loyalty to his immediate henchmen, that enabled him to hold his union with a grip of iron."

Corruption and Fraud in Other Countries

Italy, like the United States, was not free from scandal involving her highest government officials. Admiral Bettolo was accused of giving large orders for naval construction to one company in order that he might derive a personal profit therefrom. The Socialists, led by Enrico Ferri, made much of these charges. The same party brought its guns to bear upon the war department, basing their criticism upon this point, that the department reduced the pension expenditure by a million lire, but added a similar amount to the ordinary expenditure in spite of the fact that the strength of the army had been reduced by over eight thousand men. The scandal in the navy department seemed to fizzle out toward the close of the year on the adoption of a resolution calling for official investigation, which failed to substantiate the Socialists' charges.

Hungary's Bribery Case

An investigation of the Hungarian bribery scandal proved that the parliament at Budapest had been bribed to end the deadlock. The commission of inquiry had no difficulty in discovering who the high official was that had offered Herr Papp several thousand crowns to win him to the side of the Government. The man was Count Ladislas Szapary, the Governor of Fiume and ex-President of the Council, who confessed the fact and declared that he had acted on his own initiative. It appeared also that attempts had been made — in many cases successful ones — to corrupt half at least of the deputies of the Independence party. The agent Dienek, who managed this shameful business fled, together with several persons mixed up in the

scandal. It was stated that 750,000 francs had been collected to bring about a cessation of the deadlock at Budapest.

France's Sensational Trial

Political corruption is, as a rule, taken rather lightly in France, and the charge of malfeasance against the Minister of Marine was apparently regarded as only a customary incident of political warfare. Minister Pelletan was acquitted. The chamber merely condemned "the reign of calumny directed against members of the Government in order to divert them from their republican task." To increase the embarrassment of the Combes ministry, the Humbert affair was made a political issue, involving M. Vallé, the Minister of Justice. It was claimed by the opponents of the government that the presence of the Humberts in Madrid was well known to the French authorities, and that the prosecution of these gigantic swindlers was blocked for political purposes. An extensive system of fraud that had been carried on for many years was disclosed at the trial of the Humberts, which came to an end in Paris on August 27. M. and Mme. Humbert were declared guilty of forging and swindling and were condemned to five years solitary confinement. The alleged complicity of politicians in the affair led to the appointment on November 13 of a Commission of Inquiry by the French Chamber of Deputies.

Mme. Therese Humbert, who had claimed that for assistance rendered an American millionaire, Robert Henry Crawford, she had been left his entire fortune of \$20,000,000, had realized something like \$10,000,000 on fictitious securities. She produced a forged will and prevailed upon the proper authorities to seal in her safe certain alleged valuable bonds and securities without even looking at them. A Lille banker advanced her \$1,400,000, and other banks loaned her sums ranging from \$200,000 to \$1,000,000. The large sums she succeeded in obtaining were spent freely in luxurious living and in the lavish entertainment of senators, judges and deputies, whose presence at her table helped to accredit her claims with the money lenders. The frauds were reported to have been the direct cause of ten suicides, and Mme. Humbert was said to have furnished her dining salon with objects bought at the auction of the effects of a banker whom she had ruined, and who had killed himself in disgrace,

The trial, which lasted six weeks, was a dramatic affair, rivaling in popularity and interest the famous Dreyfus case. Mme. Humbert was defended by the well known Maitre Labori, who had also been counsel for Zola and Dreyfus. Early in the trial the startling testimony was given that Mme. Humbert's two brothers had impersonated Robert and Henry Crawford, nephews of the millionaire. Mme. Humbert confessed herself deceived in the name, but insisted that the person of the millions existed. She told the court that Regnier, the intermediary between Marshal Bazaine and Bismarck during the Franco-Prussian war, had been the testator. After the verdict had been given the case was appealed to the Court of Cassation on the ground of technical irregularities.

Barbarous Conditions in the German Army

Barbarous conditions in the German army were exposed through the sentencing, on November 11, of Lieutenant Bilse to dismissal and six months' imprisonment for the disclosures made in his book, "A Little Garrison." It was a picture of regimental life in a small frontier garrison, a shocking record of brutalities, suicide, desertion, duels, drunkenness, and liasons. The court, in sentencing the author, admitted that there was much truth in his book; the Minister for War, General von Einem, acknowledged the same thing, while denouncing the exposure as "a disgrace to the Prussian army." The facts brought to light in 1903 show that Lieutenant Bilse's statement of the case was a mild one. Prosecutions for ill treatment of soldiers were almost daily occurrences. In March, a young soldier was so severely beaten by non-commissioned officers that he was compelled to go to a hospital, and when released he hanged himself on a tree to avoid further ill treatment. In April a naval ensign named Hüssener fatally stabbed a gunner, who being drunk, did not salute the ensign, and when arrested attempted to escape. Hüssener was tried by court martial and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, but this was afterwards commuted to two years' confinement in a fortress. The same month the General in command of the Sixth Prussian Army Corps issued an order stating that "Soldiers debase themselves by putting up with maltreatment. It is neither the will of the Emperor, nor of their superiors, that they should suffer in silence. Officers in charge of recruits are

enjoined to keep a sharp eye on the non-commissioned officers." The general order was to be read three times a year in the presence of all the ranks.

A non-commissioned officer was arrested in July for abusing a private who afterwards committed suicide. In August another private shot himself, and the inquiry which followed resulted in the arrest of a non-commissioned officer named Dunkel, who was charged with cruelty and misuse of power in no less than 576 cases. He was sentenced to degradation and two and one-half years' imprisonment. In December a former non-commissioned officer named Franzky was found guilty of having maltreated soldiers by beating them, kicking them, spitting in their faces, etc., in 1,520 cases, and another officer, Lieutenant Schilling, of similar abuses in 698 cases. The former was condemned to degradation and five years' imprisonment, the latter to dismissal from the service and fifteen months' imprisonment. Altogether, from the beginning to the end of the year, there were 180 convictions of officers and non-commissioned officers for cruelty to their men. The Minister of War, General Von Einem, in the debate on this subject in the German parliament at the end of December, acknowledged that the ill treatment of German soldiers was an evil which must be eradicated, adding that "no one more unreservedly recognized the necessity of eradicating it than the Emperor."

Lèse-majesté Offenses

Cases of *lèse-majesté* were frequent in Germany, the most remarkable was the imprisonment of the authors of a story published by the publishers of the Socialist organ, Vorwärts, to the effect that plans had been made for the construction of an imperial residence isolated on an island in one of the lakes near Berlin, and capable of military defense. The writers were charged with insinuating that the Emperor wished to protect himself against the danger of a popular uprising. Another trial producing a great sensation at Berlin was that of the Polish Countess Kwilecka, who was accused of having procured the child of a poor woman at Cracow and having passed it off as her own in order to prevent losing her estates to another branch of the family in the absence of a male heir. In conducting the trial the public prosecutor and his assistants represented the case as involving a contest between

German patriotism and Polish national sentiment. They went to such extremes as to produce general indignation, and the Countess was eventually acquitted.

II

The expulsion from Russia of the London *Times* correspondent aroused lively indignation in England and other countries. He was arrested on May 28th without warning, forcibly detained for some hours at the police station, where he was refused permission to communicate with his wife, and threatened with deportation to the frontier in company with common criminals. Through the intervention of the British Ambassador he was permitted to proceed to the frontier without an escort, and granted a delay of three days to settle his personal affairs. The charge preferred against him was that the tone of his correspondence and that of the *Times* in general was hostile to Russia. The conduct of M. Plehve in this matter was so sharply condemned by the European press that the Russian government issued a set of rules to apply in similar cases, providing that, "foreigners who had rendered themselves liable to expulsion are to be presented with an intimation to that effect, specifying a term of grace to be accorded them, and only those who do not leave the country voluntarily after receiving this information shall be sent to the border as common prisoners."

III

Virulent attacks on the ruling house of China by a Shanghai native journal, the *Supao*, led to orders from Peking for the surrender of the editor of the paper and several members of its staff for summary execution. The municipal council of Shanghai, backed by certain foreign ministers at Peking, objected to punishment without trial. On August 30 the throne made formal representations to the foreign ministers in regard to the Chinese reformers who had been arrested at Shanghai, asking that they be turned over to the Chinese authorities for trial and repudiating the agreement made by the Shanghai council guaranteeing their trial and punishment in the foreign concession at Shanghai. After a discussion of several weeks the men were tried in the manner desired, and the principal offender condemned to imprisonment for life. The other prisoners were released and a valuable precedent was established in the interests of justice. A similar case in

Peking in which a reformer named Shen-Chien had been flogged to death by order of the Empress Dowager, led the European representatives to insist on a fair trial in the presence of a foreign assessor at Shanghai.

Shocking Conditions in the British Army

England was shocked and horrified by the publication, on August 26, of the report of the Royal Commissioner on the War in South Africa. Appalling revelations of the army's state of unpreparedness were made. The reserve of 151,000,000 rounds of ammunition included about 60,000,000 rounds which were unfit for use. The sighting of the rifles in reserve was found to be incorrect. All of the uniforms in stock for the equipment of the reservists had to be discarded, as they were in red or blue instead of khaki. The ammunition pouches shed the charges on the march. The boots were bad, and the situation was saved only by drawing on the stores of the Indian army. There was practically no reserve of saddlery, very few horse-shoes, no mule shoes whatever. The cavalry sword was the "very worst that could possibly be used," according to Sir J. French, and there were only eighty of these precious instruments in reserve. The two army corps for foreign service had neither transport nor transport animals, and not a penny of expenditure on the most essential preparations was sanctioned, in spite of the imminence of war, till September 22 three weeks before the Boer ultimatum. With regard to remounts, there was no system of obtaining in time of peace, information as to horse supplies in foreign countries for the contingency of a serious war; nor had any system for the efficient working of the remount department in the field been thought of before the war. Similarly, there was no preparation for a state of war on the financial side.

There was no scheme for organizing the services of colonial and home volunteers. The information which the intelligence department managed to collect, though terribly handicapped by lack of money, was "for all practical purposes neglected." There was no plan of campaign. The generals successively sent to command in South Africa received no definite instructions as to what was expected of them, and were not even informed of the existing local schemes of defense. The whole of the staff arrangements had to be improvised after the

war started, with disastrous results. "Nothing had been brought out," was the constantly recurring criticism of the commissioners.

The report was signed by all of the commissioners, headed by Lord Elgin, the Chairman. A study of the voluminous and painfully interesting evidence aroused deep public anxiety, and there was a great outburst of indignation in the newspapers, not by any means confined to those opposed to the government. The revelations served the purpose of stimulating a powerful desire for drastic reorganization of the war office. The charge of the excessive expenses to which officers in the army were liable led the commander in chief to take action, and on September 7 Lord Roberts issued a special army order insisting that the Colonels put a check upon extravagance, and that they must be superseded if they failed to do so.

II

Reports that severe floggings were being practiced on offending subalterns in the crack brigade of the Grenadier Guards created considerable scandal, which came up for an airing in the House of Commons. Flogging in the British army was exposed by Rear Admiral B. E. Cochrane, who in February made public the experience of his nephew, Lieutenant Leveson-Gower. Through neglect of some formality in securing leave of absence the young officer incurred the displeasure of his superior officer who turned him over to his fellow subordinates; they found him guilty of causing trouble to his commanding officer and sentenced him to be beaten. Many other cases were reported. The usual method of the flogging was to use a cane, the fellow officers striking the blows one after another. Most of the men who had been flogged refused to complain against the system, being afraid of losing the esteem of their comrades.

III

England's first trial for high treason in sixty-two years was concluded in London on January 23 with the conviction of Colonel Arthur Lynch. His offense was his active support of the Boer cause in the South African war. In extenuation of his action his counsel urged that he did not take up arms until after he had become a citizen of the Transvaal, where he had gone as correspondent for a Paris newspaper. When the war was over, however, he was elected to the British parliament from Galway, Ireland, and going to England to boldly claim his

seat in Westminster was arrested on landing, some six months before his trial. The antiquated form of the old English law for high treason spoke of him as "being moved thereto by the instigation of the devil." The sentence passed upon him was death, afterwards commuted to penal servitude for life.

The Spirit of Lawlessness

In various parts of the United States the mob spirit continued to manifest itself with exceptional frequency, boldness and barbarity. In the South, where it had been the custom to defend lynching on the ground that it was practically never resorted to except in the case of the most atrocious assaults upon women, mob violence ceased to discriminate as to the nature of the offense, and human life was taken by bloodthirsty murderers for some of the most trivial causes. In one week lynchings averaged one a day, five in Mississippi, one in Georgia and one in Louisiana. In all these cases the negroes put to death were charged with the murder of whites; none was accused of assault. In three later mob executions of negroes, one in Arkansas, one in Louisiana, one in Florida, not one was accused of a crime against a woman. The Florida negro was lynched because he would not disclose the hiding place of his brother, who was wanted by the mob.

The total number of lynchings for the year was 104. Appalling as this figure is, statistics of lynchings published for a period of twenty years, by the *Chicago Tribune*, showed that there had been an average decline. In 1893 two hundred were reported. In 1894, one hundred and eighty-nine. In 1901, one hundred and thirty-five. In 1902, ninety-six. Not only was there a slight increase in 1903, but the disposition to evoke the mob spirit upon a slight provocation had manifested itself with such unusual recklessness for a period as to give rise to serious alarm and to widespread discussion. President Roosevelt considered the tendency sufficiently alarming to call forth a warning from him.

Lynchings in the North

Another alarming feature was the extension of the spirit of lawlessness and mob violence from the South into the Northern States. In one of the current cartoons Kentucky made his bow to Delaware with the greeting, "You do me proud, sah." The cartoon had reference

both to the feuds and assassinations in Kentucky and to a shocking instance of lynching in the State of Delaware. On the 15th of June a negro in that State assaulted a young girl on a country road in the vicinity of Wilmington and the girl died the following day from the result of her injuries. A negro laborer, arrested on suspicion, was riddled with bullets and burned at the stake on the scene of his crime. An effort had been made to have the Delaware Judiciary take up the case promptly, and give an example of summary justice, but the Judges declined to have the man brought to trial until autumn, and within a week a movement in favor of lynching acquired irresistible force. Moreover the mob was spurred on by the sermon of a minister who exhibited blood-stained leaves in his pulpit. The family of the negro's victim, on the other hand, appealed for the law. "We ask you," said the father of the girl, in an open letter, written when lynching was first mentioned, "to join us in our appeal to all citizens of our commonwealth to refrain from violence. Let us not try to atone for one crime by committing another." The action of the mob took place in a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, within twenty-eight miles of Philadelphia, and a hundred and twenty-five miles from New York, but only one arrest was made, and this alleged rioter was released under bail at the instance of a mob twice as large as the one which had lynched the negro. There was no attempt whatever to punish anybody concerned in the rioting and the lynching. The incident stirred up intense race feeling North and South.

II

On July 3 Evansville, Ind., the second city in size in that state, was the scene of one of the worst outbreaks of mob violence that ever disgraced the country. A negro in resisting arrest killed a policeman, and there was serious talk of lynching. Steps were taken for immediately assembling the Grand Jury to act in the case, and while this appeased one mob, another had gathered at the jail, from which the sheriff secretly removed the prisoner and sent him to another city for safety. A reign of terror followed in the negro portion of the town. The mob paraded the streets, broke into stores to obtain arms and ammunition, lynched a stray negro against whom no crime was charged, and on the 6th stormed the jail with the intention of taking out and hanging sixteen negroes who were confined there. The jail, however,

was defended by the militia, which had been ordered to take position there by Governor Durbin. The actions of the mob compelled the soldiers to fire upon the crowd, and seven men were killed and a score more were wounded. Governor Durbin ordered a company of militia to reinforce the defenders of the Evansville jail. Law and order was restored within a few days. A number of rioters were promptly indicted, and the local Judge, even before the rioting was completely suppressed, had undertaken to bring the negro murderer back to Evansville for trial. Governor Durbin interfered, however, on the grounds that "no grounds should be given for the suspicion that even a guilty man has been railroaded to the gallows to satisfy public sentiment, or that the civil authorities have been influenced to the determination of their course by the demonstration of the lawless." In one state, at least, rioters were made to understand that there was no toleration of their conduct.

Evansville's outbreak emphasized two facts: one is that mob law, with the negro as an objective, will set itself against the State on provocation infinitely less than that for which manifestations of it in the South are so freely excused. The other is that lynchers, and all other rioters, can be dealt with successfully only through the employment of men not afraid to kill in the discharge of their duty. It was a source of satisfaction to know that the authority of the law had been sustained even at a heavy cost and after bungling management. In the Wilmington case the mob spirit had been growing for fully a week before the successful attack upon the prison, and the militia might successfully have quelled it if the exercise of ordinary vigor in the interest of public peace, by those charged with the keeping of order, had urged them to action. Governor Durbin's firm attitude and decisive action afforded an excellent example of the only way in which the spirit of lawlessness can be checked.

III

The gravity of the situation called forth a letter from the President, in which he declared, "All public men, all writers of the press, all clergymen, all teachers, all who in any way have a right to address the people, should with every energy unite to denounce such crimes, and to support those engaged in putting them down." He further declared, "We must show that the law is adequate to deal with crime

by freeing it from every vestige of technicality and delay." The Governors of the various States applauded the President's exhortation against lynching. The Governor of Virginia declared, "Private vengeance and violence should never usurp the administration of justice through the forms of law. Otherwise the remedy is as fatal as the disease." The Governor of Georgia gave his testimony that speedy trials tended to lessen the number of lynchings.

Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, gave the opinion that "every man who participates in the lynching or the burning of a negro is a murderer pure and simple." He argued as follows: "Any man who kills his fellow man, otherwise than in defense of himself or of his property, commits nothing less than murder. The man who takes part in the burning of a negro, no matter how atrocious the latter's conduct, is guilty of murder. There may be extenuation which might vary the degree of the crime, but the principal participants in the crime can be held by any court in the land in the same degree as if the crime were committed by an individual." In making this utterance Justice Brewer performed a public service that had its effect upon all thoughtful citizens.

Semi-Anarchy in Kentucky

Peculiar conditions produced a state of semi-anarchy in Kentucky, and the trial of the alleged murderers of J. B. Markham, who was shot down in the court house, required a large force of militia to prevent the rescue of the prisoners, and the intimidation of the witnesses against the accused. Marcom Cockrell and Dr. Cox had been killed at Jackson, Ky., by bullets fired from the court house windows in open day by murderers who were plainly seen by persons in the vicinity. The murderers were believed to be worthless vagabonds paid by their principals, and living on blood-money. The trial brought out peculiar moral and physical conditions. Statistics showed that two-thirds of Kentucky's assassinations could be traced to politics, and that murderers of this class have been idealized into heroes. Many people in the State showed a lurking sympathy with these desperadoes, and a secret pride in the terror which a Kentuckian is supposed to carry with him wherever he goes. The Governor did all he could to minimize the atrocities, but within twenty-four hours after saying

through the newspapers that no more troops were needed at Jackson forty or fifty more were already ordered there to re-enforce those guarding the jail, and ten soldiers were deemed necessary to guard the residence of a single witness.

Private Vengeance in South Carolina

One of the most notorious examples of private vengeance was the shooting of N. Z. Gonzales, editor of the *Columbia State*, on January 1, by Lieutenant-Governor J. H. Tillman. The *State* had been a powerful and constant opponent of Tillman's political ambitions, and it had been known for two years that there was bad blood between the two men. Gonzales died four days after the shooting from the result of his wounds, and James H. Tillman, in the following October, was acquitted of the charge of murder. The trial lasted nearly a month; more than one hundred witnesses testified. Seven lawyers defended the accused man, the defense being that Tillman when he shot Gonzales had reason to anticipate an attack from the editor, though Gonzales was unarmed at the time, and no testimony was adduced to show that he gave any sign of an intention to attack Tillman. No trial ever attracted more attention from the country at large, and the general feeling prevailed that the South Carolina jury had bidden an assassin to go free as an innocent man. The verdict in the Tillman case convinced the country at large that there was not a healthy public sentiment in South Carolina against the use of the pistol in the settlement of private disputes. Justice was plainly outraged, and the jurors' minds were evidently colored by ignorance, prejudice, and passion, and confused by eloquent counsel. The whole situation pointed to the prevalence of a sentiment wholly at variance with that of the present day, and seemed to uphold the opinion that in South Carolina law was secondary to individual vengeance.

Lawless Labor Disturbances

Education and enlightenment were agreed to be the only permanent remedies for lawlessness, but there was a strong feeling that the most necessary and effective of immediate remedies is the swift application of force. The average mob flourishes in the presence of weak and timid officials, and does not like to face men who will use rifles. With

thousands of riotously inclined subway strikers, and several incipient riots in the negro quarters of New York, and with certain other peace threatening conditions, the police force of New York maintained order because it would not for a moment parley with the mob. Promptness, firmness, tact and patience prevailed in every instance. The Governors of several of the Southern States, moved by the example of Governor Durbin of Indiana, and the methods of the Metropolitan police, endeavored to infuse in the sheriffs and local authorities the same spirit of promptness and vigilance, so that attempts at the exercise of mob law could be thwarted in their very incipiency. Moreover, it was found to be a useful thing for the machinery of justice to move quickly, when it could do so without any sacrifice of the rights of individuals.

I

The spirit of lawlessness and insurrection manifested itself in Colorado as the result of long-standing labor troubles. There was a plot to blow up five mines in Cripple Creek and such a state of outlawry prevailed that the Governor of the State sought to quell it by declaring martial law, and by sending several companies of State militia to Telluride. For five months the members of the Western Federation of Miners had been on a strike at Cripple Creek, and for more than three years the E. J. Morgan Association in Telluride had been at odds with the mine operators, and the strife was bitter in both places. The militia lost no time in arresting armed strikers and throwing them into jail. The Governor then appealed to President Roosevelt for Federal aid and Major-General John C. Bates was sent to the district to investigate. General Bates in his report commended Governor Peabody for his course in sending troops, saying that the conditions warranted the presence of the militia.

II

Strikes in 1903 in various branches of industry were frequently accompanied by an utter disregard of law and order. In Waterbury, Conn., a strike of trolley-car men lasting from January to May, was attended by violent outbreaks. On March 8 a party of masked strikers, or strike sympathizers, attacked a car with revolvers, killing a policeman, wounding the conductor. On January 11 State troops had to be called in, and as long as the soldiers remained there was a semblance of order. When they departed, however, it became evident that the

lawless spirit had not been subdued, but merely held in check. The murder of the policeman led the outraged citizens to form an alliance against the boycott. The climax of the struggle came on March 14, when Judge Elmer of the Supreme Court, on application of the Connecticut Lighting and Railway Company, granted a temporary injunction restraining the strikers and all other persons from interfering with the business of the railway company, and attaching the property of the Unions involved to the amount of \$25,000. By thus tying up the funds of the strikers, the Court deprived them of the sinews of war. In Chicago, also, a strike of street car employees was marked by great violence and disorder. This was followed by a strike of cabmen and livery drivers, the strikers going to such extremes that they refused to drive hearses or mourning coaches, and even picketed houses where funerals were held.

III

Labor disturbances in Europe assumed alarming proportions. In Russia, during March, 500 workmen of the State Iron Works, on strike at Salatoust, stormed the manager's house, and were dispersed by the troops with much bloodshed. In May the Governor of the province was assassinated. Further disturbances took place at Batoum, which were promptly suppressed by the troops. In July and August there was a general uprising of the workingmen over the whole manufacturing district of Southern Russia from Kieff to Odessa. Three great land owners, Prince Urusoff, Prince Gagarin, and Prince Scherbatoff, were murdered by the peasants. These crimes, however, were declared by the strikers to have been acts of private revenge. At Baku, for several days 45,000 strikers held the city, stopping railway trains and street cars, and turning off the municipal lights. In many towns there was sharp street fighting, and nearly all the factories were closed. According to the latest statistics, not less than 500,000 workmen took part in this general uprising, several thousand of whom were killed and wounded. The loss to the oil industry alone was estimated at eight millions of dollars.

On April 2 a general strike of large proportions was declared at Rome, involving all workmen except government employes. Over 25,000 men were out of work. For three days no newspaper appeared except the *Popolo Romano*. The King, the Prime Minister, and the

Minister of the Interior found the situation so grave that they gave up their Easter holidays in the country and returned to the capital. The arrangements for preserving order were so successful that work was generally resumed on April 10. Toward the end of January a universal strike was declared in Holland. The employees of different transport companies in Amsterdam having gone out on a strike on the question of wages, the companies engaged non-union workmen. On this ground all other workmen left work, including the railway employees. This resulted in a complete stoppage of the train service of Amsterdam, and for two days the carriage of letters and newspapers had to be supplied by an improvised service of automobiles. In France certain provincial towns, notably Nantes, Nice, and Havre, were the scenes of violent labor disturbances, and street agitations which were put down by energetic measures on the part of the government. On November 29, in Paris, collisions occurred with serious injuries on both sides, between the police and workingmen who were demonstrating against the exploitation alleged to be practised by labor agents. On the same day, at Bilbao, Spain, six persons were killed and one hundred wounded during an outbreak of striking miners. The foregoing represent only a small percentage of the strikes of the year, but they were the only ones accompanied by violence, bloodshed, and lawlessness. The so-called "peaceful strikes," together with the causes and the methods of settlement of strikes in general, are taken up in the chapter on Social Conditions.

CHAPTER VI

PHASES OF ADMINISTRATION

President Roosevelt's position in the eyes of his party, in the eyes of the country at large, was greatly strengthened by his participation in the public issues of the year 1903. Many of his acts excited hostility and there was a charge in more than one instance of his exceeding constitutional limits, but so vigorous and incisive was his action that the nation rested securely under the feeling that there was a man at the head of affairs. At the beginning of the year a debate on the prerogatives of the President was precipitated in the Senate. Senator Hoar claimed that the President was charged by the country at large with trying to influence legislation, and insisted that the President should not meddle with the work of Congress, that it was his duty, if he thought necessary, to communicate his opinions and such information as he might have about matters of legislation in a message, and that there he should stop. "It is nobody's business," argued Senator Hoar, "to be arranging with the President of the United States what the Senate shall do. We are an independent body. The time for the President to make up his mind about statutes is after we have passed them, and not before, unless he avails himself of the constitutional privilege to make communication to the entire body by message."

Questions of Presidential Propriety

A clash between the laws of the United States and the laws of the International Brotherhood of Book-Binders, arising in the Government Printing Office, again brought the prerogatives of the President into question. An assistant foreman who had been expelled from the Union was for that reason removed from the Government Printing Office, and his application to President Roosevelt was immediately approved,

the President saying in a letter to Secretary Cortelyou, "There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a body if they so desire, but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce."

II

The work of the commission appointed by President Roosevelt the previous year to investigate the anthracite coal strike and arbitrate the differences between the mine operators and the mine workers began on the 6th of January with a personal visit of the commissioners to the mines, followed by the taking of testimony from the miners as to their treatment by operators; from non-union men as to their treatment by the strikers, and from the operators as to their relations with their men. It took three months to complete the investigation, and the report of the commission was handed in on March 18, signed by all of its members: Judge George Gray, Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, Brigadier-General J. M. Wilson, Bishop J. L. Spalding, T. H. Watkins, E. E. Clark and E. W. Parker. The awards were said to be satisfactory to all parties to the dispute. The commission had not only worked rapidly; it worked cheaply, its entire expenses amounting only to \$38,000, of which \$18,000 went for salaries and compensation. This left unspent \$12,000 out of the \$50,000 appropriation made by Congress. The award was a material, as well as a moral, victory for the men, and a great relief to the suffering public. It commended the President's judgment in the appointment of the commission, although his opponents claimed that his action was responsible for all the arrogant demands of labor that followed.

III

Acrimonious comment upon his appointments of negroes to Federal offices in the South, aroused the President to defend his position in an open letter to the editor of the Atlanta Constitution, in which he declared that he had sought to consider the feelings of the people as far as he could without sacrificing principle. His prime test in appointments, he said, were character, fitness, and ability. He could not treat mere color as a bar to holding office, any more than he could so treat creed or birthplace. "In South Carolina I have appointed a white postmaster to succeed a colored postmaster. Again in South

Carolina I have nominated a colored man to fill a vacancy in the position of Collector of the Port of Charleston, just as in Georgia I have reappointed the colored man who is now serving as Collector of the Port of Savannah. Both are fit men." The President claimed that he had freely consulted Southern Senators and Representatives as to the character and ability of appointees. "I may add," he concluded, "that the proportion of colored men among the new appointees is only about one in one hundred." The suppression of the post-office at Indianola, Miss., because the citizens had forced the colored post-mistress to resign, and the suspension of a rural delivery route running out of Gallatin, Tex., because the negro mail-carrier had been threatened with death if he did not resign, intensified the feeling throughout the South that the President was attempting to force the negro into a social and official position that the Southerner refuses to recognize.

IV

On the part of the moneyed interests there was a tendency to look upon the President as a dangerous man, too assertive and too aggressive. None of these charges and criticisms, however, materially weakened the strong hold the President was fast gaining on the country, and his two months' trip to the Pacific Coast made many new friends and strengthened the allegiance of many old ones. The financiering of this western tour brought up another question of Presidential propriety. There was a rumor to the effect that all expenses of the tour, including wining, dining, transportation, etc., were borne by the railroad corporations that had the honor of carrying the President and his party over the lines. Invidious comparisons were made between President Roosevelt's acceptance of courtesies, and President Cleveland's habit of paying all of his own bills whenever he went on a tour. His action was defended on the ground that he had been assured that special trains had been furnished free of charge to his predecessors, not in their personal capacity, but as Presidents of the United States. He was informed at the time of his original inquiry that the various railroads vied with one another in furnishing such special trains because such trains carrying a President of the United States attracted passengers to the trains at various points of call, and hence were a sound business investment. A President, moreover, could hardly be expected to defray his own expenses.

Conciliating Sectional Interests

Returning to Washington on June 5, the President was received with enthusiasm and congratulated on having broken all records for Presidential journeys. He and his party had traveled 14,000 miles by rail, several hundred miles in carriages, to say nothing of horse-back trips. The schedule arranged by Secretary Loeb was followed with precision. Neither accident nor illness marred the journey. The President delivered 265 speeches, in which his policy and opinions on public questions were frankly expressed. It was at Chicago on April 2 that he advocated speaking softly and carrying a big stick in upholding the Monroe Doctrine. "If the American nation," he said, "will speak softly, and yet build and keep at a pitch of the highest training a thoroughly efficient navy, the Monroe Doctrine will go far." As regards the trusts, in his speech at Milwaukee he said emphatically, "You can, of course, put an end to the prosperity of the trusts by putting an end to the prosperity of the nation, but the price for such action seems high. The alternative is to do exactly what has been done during the life of the Congress which has just closed; that is, to endeavor not to destroy corporations, but to regulate them with a view of doing away with whatever is of evil in them and of making them subserve the public use."

At Sioux Falls, in discussing the labor question, he urged the employment of every device and expedient for securing a better understanding between employer and employé. "All troubles should be settled," he urged, "in time to avert the suffering and bitterness caused by strikes. When the break has actually occurred, damage has been done, and each side feels sore and angry, and it is difficult to get them together, difficult to make either forget its own wrongs and remember the rights of the other. If possible, the effort at conciliation or mediation, or arbitration, should be made in the earlier stages, and should be marked by the wish on the part of both sides to try to come to a common agreement which each shall think is in the interests of the other, as well as of itself."

As regards our duty to the Filipinos, in a speech at Fargo, N. Dak., the President said: "To put down the insurrection and restore peace to the Islands was a duty not only to ourselves, but to the Islanders also. We could not have abandoned the conflict without

shirking this duty and without dooming the Filipinos themselves to a bloody jumble of anarchy and tyranny. The government there is conducted purely in the interests of the people of the Islands. They are protected in their religious and civil rights. They have been given an excellent and well-administered school system. Not only has the military problem in the Philippines been worked out quicker and better than we had dared to expect, but the progress socially and in civil government has likewise exceeded our fondest hope."

In one of his first speeches in California the President spoke of the enlarging influence on the Pacific Ocean, and this topic was elaborated in his speech at San Francisco on May 13 in which he said in part: "America's geographical position on the Pacific is such as to ensure our peaceful domination of its waters in the future if only we grasp with sufficient resolution the advantages of this position. We are taking long strides in this direction. Witness the cables we are laying, and the great steamship lines we are starting, steamship lines some of whose vessels are larger than any freight carriers in the world. We have taken the first steps toward digging an Isthmian canal to be under our own control; a canal which will make our Atlantic and Pacific coast lines to all intents and purposes continuous, and will add immensely to our commercial and our military and naval strength. The inevitable march of events gave us the control of the Philippines at a time so opportune that it may without irreverence be held providential. We must keep on building and maintaining a thoroughly efficient navy, with plenty of the best and most formidable ships, with an ample supply of officers and men, and with these officers and men trained in the most thorough way to the best possible performance of their duties. Only thus can we assure our position in the world at large, and in particular our position here on the Pacific."

The Administration of New Possessions

The third annual report of the Philippine Commission, and a separate report by Governor W. H. Taft, published the first week in January, gave a review of conditions in the Islands and made certain recommendations for legislative action by Congress: (1) The establishment of a gold standard in the Islands and of banking corporations empowered to issue circulating bank notes under proper

safeguards. (2) The reduction of at least 75 per cent of the Dingley rates of duties upon goods imported into the United States from the Philippines. (3) An amendment of the Philippine Act so that the limit upon lands which may be sold to or held by individuals or corporations from the public domain shall be increased. (4) That the Philippine Act be amended by repealing the limitation which forbids an individual or corporation from holding an interest in more than one mining claim. (5) That all bonds issued by the Insular Government under the authority of the Philippine Act shall be free from State, county and municipal taxation in the United States. (6) That an amendment be made to the Chinese exclusion act, giving power to the government by law to admit a fixed and limited number of Chinamen into the Philippine Islands who are certified to be skilled laborers."

Governor Taft in his report described the conditions that necessitated the purchase of about \$15,000,000 worth of food to prevent famine.

Solving Philippine Problems

I

An alarming epidemic of cholera broke out on the Islands in the early part of the year 1902, and rinderpest among the cattle caused great distress. The Philippine government issued supplies and restocked farms, appropriating for this purpose the sum of \$1,000,000, and Congress made a grant of \$3,000,000 for the relief of the sufferers. Despite depressing conditions, the commerce of the Islands showed improvement, and the foreign trade for the year ended June 30, 1903, gave a balance of \$149,898. By an act of Congress passed March 2, 1903, the Philippine government coined and issued on a gold basis a new silver currency, the unit being the peso maintained at the par value of fifty cents, United States currency; and on October 31 of the same year there had been received in Manila 14,543,650 Philippine pesos, while there was in transit to Manila an additional 3,227,600 Philippine pesos. Of the amount actually received there was in the vaults of the Philippine treasury 9,517,004.22 pesos, and in circulation 5,026,645.78 pesos, of which last amount 3,246,473.50 pesos consisted of money held in the vaults of the four principal banks in Manila. The aggregate of these two items, 9,517,004.22 pesos and 5,026,645.78 pesos, is 14,543,650 pesos, the total amount at that time received in the

Islands, equivalent to \$7,271,825, United States currency. By the same act, certificates for 10,000,000 Philippine pesos were printed before November of the same year for issue in return for the deposit of silver peso coin. These measures were expected to absorb the Spanish coins and Mexican dollars and to put the Islands on a sound monetary basis. On the 20th of January, 1903, Secretary Root transmitted to the Senate and House copies of a petition received by the Philippine Commission from Aguinaldo, the late insurgent leader, advocating the creation of an agricultural bank in Manila, with various branches in the Philippine Archipelago, upon a capital of \$100,000,000, to be furnished by the United States.

II

A law establishing the "Moro Province," consisting of the island of Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and adjacent islands, was provided by the Philippine Commission in June, 1903. Zamboanga was designated the capital, and the Province was divided into five districts—Sulu, Zamboanga, Lanao, Cottabato, and Davao. Major General Leonard Wood was appointed civil and military Governor of the province. The legislative council for the province was organized during the following months. The council was composed of a governor, secretary, treasurer, engineer, attorney, and superintendent of schools. The province was placed under the jurisdiction of the Philippine courts and constabulary, Moro laws or customs being recognized when not in direct conflict with the American laws. The constabulary for the Philippine Islands, reorganized by the authority of Congress, was modeled after the government police of France and other foreign countries.

It was hoped by this means ultimately to obviate the necessity of military forces in the islands, or at least to materially reduce their number. Five ranking officers of the constabulary were drawn from the Army. Owing to numerous acts of bad faith and violations of its provisions, the so-called "Bates Treaty" with the Sultan of Jolo of August 20, 1899, was abrogated and an act was passed by the Legislative Council of Moro Province specifically prohibiting slavery in that province and providing heavy penalties for its violation. The Bates treaty was a one-sided affair, lived up to only by the United States and violated daily by the Sultan and the subordinate signatory dattos. Their various acts of unprovoked hostility and treachery made neces-

sary several punitive expeditions against them after long-continued and repeated efforts to secure punishment of the offenders and a discontinuance of the practice only resulted in defiance and further acts of bad faith.

III

General Miles, returning in the Spring from several months' tour of investigation in the Philippines, made a report to the Government in which he criticised the conduct of several military officers stationed there. All of the report was not made public, since it was claimed that his charges were not supported by proof. In view of certain statements made by him giving hearsay evidence of cruelties perpetrated by our troops in the Philippine Islands a new investigation was made of the conduct of certain officers charged with maltreating natives. In five months General Miles had made a trip around the world. He had inspected our forts and coast defenses on the Pacific, visited the principal forts and stations in the Philippines, made a study of the Japanese army, and inspected our legation guard at Peking; returning to America by way of the Siberian Railroad.

IV

Most important of all phases of our administration in the Philippines was the agreement concluded between Governor Taft and the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, by which the Philippine government contracted to purchase and the latter to convey for the sum of \$7,239,000 the so-called friars' lands, the landed property of the religious organizations in the Islands, comprising over 400,000 acres. Under the Spanish rule the friars obtained great power and gradually appropriated a large proportion of the best lands in the Islands. They were the landlords, and in many places the only authorities with which the natives ever came in contact. Whether justly or otherwise, in their capacity of landlords, they were regarded with great dislike by the Filipinos, and, in many instances, the intensity of this feeling led to revolts against the Spanish regime, which was practically dominated by these religious bodies. Discontent continued after American control had been established on account of delay in dispossessing the ecclesiastical landlords. The desire to efface serious religious differences aided materially in the settlement of the question.

Governor Taft's solution of the problem seemed to be entirely sat-

isfactory to all parties, except perhaps the friars, who claimed that their lands should have brought a higher price, and held out for a considerable time for about twice the sum paid. The Philippine government provided for turning the lands over to the Filipinos, who now occupy them under a system of land tenure modeled after that of the new land purchase act for Ireland. The existent tenants were given the preference over all others to lease or purchase their holdings on long-time and easy payments. The annual charge for interest and sinking fund was equivalent to a small rental much less than the tenants formerly paid the friars. It was hoped that great benefits would arise from this arrangement; that the creation of so many independent landholders would transform the uneasy and discontented farmers into a body of industrious citizens, and that political and religious peace would be evolved from the new conditions. The question of the withdrawal of the friars, which originally presented the chief obstacle to the arrangement, settled itself by the friars being sent by the Church authorities to other fields of duty, only about two hundred remaining in the Islands at the close of the year. The news of the settlement was received with great satisfaction at the Vatican. The Pope is said to have exclaimed: "It is the best Christmas gift I could have received." It was the crowning achievement of Governor Taft's four years of honorable service in the Philippines. He had served our interests in the Islands as President of the Philippine Commission since April 1900, and as Civil Governor since July 4, 1901.

The Philippines as a Business Investment

Improvements of harbors, portworks, highways, and railroads, and the effort to make all parts of the Islands easily accessible, continued throughout the year. New railway projects included the Manila-Dagupan line with branches to Cabanatuan, Antipolo, San Miguel and Tayug and extensions to Baguio, Laoag and Aparri in the North, and from Manila to Cavite, Santa Cruz, Batangas and Lucena in the South. There was also a line in project in Albay Province from Pasacao to Legaspi and Tabaco, three hundred miles of railways about equally distributed in the islands of Cebu, Panay and Negros, and fifty miles in each Leyte and Samar. About 2,500 men were put to work on the new Benguet wagon road from Dagupan to Baguio, which it was con-

templated might be utilized in part by the future railroad. Electric railways and waterworks for Manila were planned.

The impression gained ground during the year that as an investment — that is, as a market for American goods and a producer of profitable exports — the Philippines had turned out badly. Exports to the Islands from all countries had increased slightly owing to the spending of United States money in Manila, of sending men and ships and the money to pay their expenses, and the appropriation by Congress of three millions of dollars to save the natives from misery and starvation. These things translated into the form of exports and imports by the bureau of statistics made a good showing in the accounts of our increasing traffic. According to a hostile critic, however, the prospect of individual profits was fading away. By far our largest importation from the Philippines was hemp, and the bulk of our exports goods for the Americans living there. The experience of persons who had gone there to invest their own capital was far from encouraging. They had to contend with the troublous labor question and an unfavorable climate.

From another source, that of the British consular office in the Philippines, came an unsatisfactory report of trade there. The sugar industry suffered during 1903 for the want of capital and labor, as well as the death of work animals from rinderpest. The cotton imports, mainly those from Great Britain, declined slightly, owing to the impoverished condition of the country and the unsettled state of some districts, which practically closed them to trade. In 1903, Great Britain held the first place in the import trade, although the coasting trade was under the flag of the United States. A series of fatal conditions resulting in general discontent was reported by the Swiss consul at Manila in his summary for 1903. First was the large imports of rice from Cochin China, India, Siam, etc. It is known that some rice must be imported annually for the use of the natives and the Chinese, for whom it is the most important article of consumption. However, the imports of rice never reached so high a point as in 1903, amounting to \$10,000,000, as compared with \$30,000 in 1897. It is evident that the withdrawal of this sum for this great necessity of life, usually grown in the Islands, would have a disastrous effect on the purchase of articles of luxury. It also resulted in many peasants go-

ing to the cities, where they could earn money more readily. To this must be added the danger from predatory bands and the effects of the revolution. An important factor was the lack of sufficient native oxen to cultivate crops, which was caused by the ravages of rinderpest. The government endeavored to remedy this state of affairs by importing oxen from China and Java and furnishing them to the farmers at reasonable prices, but did not secure favorable results, as many of the animals died en route or shortly after reaching the Islands.

Party Agitation Among the Filipinos

Political parties among the Filipinos continued too numerous and too unorganized to accomplish anything of note. Movements headed by the National, Federal, Liberal, and Socialist parties were not cohesive enough to threaten public peace and safety. Arthur Stanley Riggs, editor of the *Manila Freedom* in 1903, thus described the political complexion of the Islands for the *Atlantic Monthly*:

"The Workers' party is practically no more and no less than a gigantic labor union. Like the other unions of a similar nature at home, it plays a sort of Ishmael part; but aside from exerting considerable influence over the working classes, it has little concern with anything but *fiestas*. It is impossible to conceive of any Filipino 'nation.' The native has no idea of solidarity: 'party interests' are to him as meaningless as the word 'snow'; never having seen either, or the effects of either, he affects a stolid indifference from which it is not possible to rouse him. Some months ago Pascual Poblete, the agitator and blow-hard, announced that his 'labor bureau' could furnish at any moment 200,000 men for any sort of unskilled labor by the day. Nobody took up his proposition, and now he considers that he has dealt the Chinese skilled labor importation scheme a deadly blow. As a matter of fact, he merely added one more argument to the quiverful in the hands of the Chinaman's partisans. Poblete is the Chino-mestizo of whom the *Madrid Herald* spoke so bitterly a year or so ago, accusing him of practically every crime a man can commit without landing himself behind the bars for life. He is a gamester, habitué of the mains, subscription-raiser and labor agitator of the most dangerous type, being, with Isabelo de los Reyes, always embroiled in some labor controversy. Poblete's subscription lists raised considerable money, and as no ac-

counting was ever made, it is popularly believed that the cash went to the owners of various victorious roosters in the pits at Caloocan and Pasay. He is, of course, prominent in the councils of the *obreros*, or toilers.

II

"Of the other parties, it can only be said that they are never able to agree on anything among themselves. Doctor Jesús even, one of the most prominent of the local politicians, cannot get along with the men of his own peculiar ideas, and has repeatedly quarreled bitterly with his best political friends. So it is, that none of the parties amounts to much as a weapon in the hands of the Filipino. The new democratic labor union, an outgrowth of the older *obrero*, which celebrated its first *gran fiesta* on May 1, is composed mainly of such skilled labor as the Philippines can boast. Many of the newspaper compositors are enrolled in its ranks, among them being not only Filipinos, but also East Indians, Chinese, and a few Arabs. Carpenters, machinists, carriage-builders, masons, and artisans of all trades make up the rest. There is no such thing as a separate union here for each trade; it is merely necessary that individual artisans be of the same political stripe, which covers, to the native mind, a multitude of other shortcomings. This union is, however, as arbitrary as any similar body in the United States.

"Some days ago, the editor of one of the newspapers had occasion to wish the dismissal of a lazy compositor. He told the man to go at once, and was informed by the union patron that the man could go if it was necessary, but that the whole force would go out in sympathy. If he was permitted to remain until Saturday night, he could be dismissed, and nothing would be said about it by the union. The man stayed. This party could have a powerful influence if elections were held and the natives enfranchised. Though experience has shown, particularly within the past six months, that the Filipino does not readily assimilate new ideas as a general rule, he picks up some things with a rapidity that is positively startling. His childish love of gaudy finery and the ease with which he is swayed by an oily and passionate tongue leave him largely at the mercy of his more educated brother — the spellbinder would find him easy prey."

Friction in Hawaii

In Hawaii friction between the natives and Americans led to considerable political excitement. In the Legislature the Senate was controlled by the whites, while the House was composed of twenty-three natives and seven whites. Although nominally divided into home rulers and Republicans, race distinction almost wholly replaced the party lines. This was strikingly developed in the consideration of a bill providing for the appointment of a Catholic agent for the territory, the duties of this agent being to encourage trade with and emigration from the United States. In the matter of salaries, almost without exception the House tried to cut down the salary of every office held by a white man, and to raise the salary of every office held by a native. In the matter of other appropriations, wherever the direct or immediate benefit was to accrue to native Hawaiians, a large figure was proposed. In the matter of appropriations for the leper settlement, for instance, any amount of money that was asked to increase the food, clothing and cash allowance of the lepers, who are nearly all Hawaiians, was readily granted, while every appropriation for better administrative service of the settlement for bacteriological or other appliances, or material for the scientific study and treatment of the disease, was violently opposed, because such sums of money would not go directly to any Hawaiian.

Native members of the Legislature were charged with extravagance and jobbery, which ultimately led to an investigation by the Grand Jury. A law giving the counties control of their own affairs, and curtailing the power of the government, was passed in April, though it was not to go into effect until January 1, 1904. President Roosevelt approved a territorial loan of \$1,000,000 for public improvements. Governor Sanford B. Dole, having been appointed United States District Judge for Hawaii, George R. Carter was appointed by President Roosevelt to succeed him as Governor. The first message sent over the new Pacific cable was a greeting from Governor Dole to President Roosevelt, on January 1, 1903, that date marking the completion of the first section of the cable. The second message was a greeting from the people of Hawaii to Clarence H. Mackay, President of the Pacific Cable Company.

Americanizing Porto Rico

Everything in Porto Rico seemed to indicate that, in outward form, at least, the island was rapidly becoming Americanized. The old Spanish streets were thoroughly transformed by modern electric car lines. American names took the place of Spanish ones on buildings and in shop windows; ice plants were established in important cities; Sousa's marches were played on the plazas; baseball games were the most popular form of amusement. The school system was extended, and in April the University of Porto Rico was opened. President Roosevelt's decision as to the distribution of public lands in Porto Rico provided for the sale at low figures of some 100,000 acres suitable for various agricultural and industrial purposes. Certain naval and military reservations were made. The public lands and buildings on the Puntilla, the location of the naval station, were retained for the use of the Navy, and the coaling facilities there were improved. Commerce with the United States showed an increase: the exports from the United States to the island for 1903 being valued at \$11,976,134 as compared with \$10,719,444 for 1902, and the imports into the United States from Porto Rico being \$10,909,147 for 1903 and \$8,297,422 for 1902. Porto Ricans, as a rule, seemed satisfied with American control, though there were a few signs of discontent.

England's Administrative Problems

King Edward aided considerably in establishing good feeling and cordial relations between England and Scotland and Ireland by coming into touch with the higher social and official life of both countries, and with their best public activities, in his visit to their leading cities. On May 12 King Edward and Queen Alexandra, at the historic Holyrood Palace of Edinburgh received deputations and addresses from the Church of Scotland, from the town council, and the University of Edinburgh. The following day they opened the new hospital for infectious diseases. On the 14th they visited Glasgow, and laid the foundation stone for a new technical college. On July 21 they were welcomed at Dublin, Ireland, with great enthusiasm. During their four days in this city they performed a great variety of public functions. A large number of addresses were received representing

the causes of religion and philanthropy, industry and commerce, as well as the work of local government. They held a court at the castle, and visited the chief educational institutions, including Trinity College, Alexandra College and Maynooth, all of which the King praised for the good work contributed to the life of the nation and of the empire.

The royal visit was concluded at Cork, where the King and Queen visited the exhibition, presented colors to the Royal Irish Regiment, and the Royal Munster Fusiliers, and received various addresses. Before leaving Queenstown on August 1 the King issued an address expressing their Majestys' appreciation of the tokens of loyalty and affection, concluding: "For a country so attractive, and for a people so gifted, we cherish the warmest regard, and it is with supreme satisfaction that I have, during our stay, so often heard the hope expressed that a brighter day is dawning upon Ireland. Its realization must, under divine providence, depend largely upon the steady development of self-reliance and co-operation; upon better and more practical education; upon the growth of industrial and commercial enterprise, and upon that increase of mutual toleration and respect which the responsibility my Irish people now enjoy in the public administration of their local affairs is well fitted to teach."

Mr. Chamberlain in South Africa

I

Anglo-Dutch reconciliation was England's greatest aim in South Africa in 1903. The year opened with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain on the ground as protagonist of that policy. Arriving at Pretoria on January 4 he was received enthusiastically by the English, though coldly by the Dutch, who through their ex-Generals requested a general amnesty and better facilities for resettling the burghers on their farms. At a public banquet Mr. Chamberlain appealed to the Boers through their leaders, several of whom were present, to forget the past, to work for the future and not to conduct internal controversies upon racial lines. He expressed the hope that representative government would eventually be granted to the new colonies, urged the settlement of the claims for compensation and repatriation of the people, and also left it to be inferred that the existing administration would not immediately be disturbed. The Boers, however, pressed him to

make concessions, such as their leaders had failed to obtain from him in London after the Peace Treaty. They presented him with an address setting forth their claims. Mr. Chamberlain referred them to the peace compact as the charter of liberty for the Boer people, but he specifically rejected the demand for amnesty of rebels.

II

Johannesburg was the scene of Mr. Chamberlain's next efforts. Here, after much negotiation, he was able to announce at a public banquet that an arrangement had been made for a war contribution for the new colonies. The Imperial government would submit to Parliament a bill guaranteeing a loan of £35,000,000 on the security of the assets of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies. The investment loan would be devoted to paying the debts of the Transvaal for expenditure upon public works, lands settlement and new railways. Thus the two colonies would be immediately placed in funds for the development of the country. The other side of the agreement was that as soon as possible after placing this loan, another loan of £30,000,000 would be issued, to be called up in annual instalments of £10,000,000. This loan would be treated as a war debt, secured on the assets of the Transvaal, and a group of South African financiers had undertaken to subscribe the first £10,000,000 without commission or any preferential security. When this arrangement was announced, it was rumored in Johannesburg that Mr. Chamberlain's consent to the importation of Chinese labor had been bought by the mining interests, and that accounted for their willingness to take up £10,000,000 of the war loan. Mr. Chamberlain indignantly denied this accusation. In the course of subsequent speeches on the labor question he implied that he would not regard with disfavor any practical scheme by which compulsory labor, by increase of taxation, could be applied to the black races. He also expressed the view that the labor problem was one for the colonies to settle for themselves, and it was not for the Home Government to hamper them by prohibiting the importation of Asiatics.

III

Mr. Chamberlain next visited Boer settlements, British farms, and Kaffir communities throughout the colonies for the sake of obtaining a first-hand acquaintance with prevailing conditions. Everywhere he

urged the necessity of racial harmony and common effort for the good of the country. In Cape Colony he lectured the rebel and semi-rebel elements for the mischievous use to which they had put self-government. A deputation from the Bond waited upon him in Cape Town to assure him of their acceptance of the Treaty of Vereeniging as the commencement of a new era. Mr. Jan Hofmeyer, leader of the Bond, made a speech pledging loyalty and friendly assurances. In reply Mr. Chamberlain said: "I should like to see federation. I will go one step further and say, I should like to see you reunited in one great parliament of an imperial race, but undue hurry would be fatal. I have tried to fulfil my great mission in an impartial spirit. I have spoken frankly and without reserve. I shall go away hopeful and confident regarding the rest of South Africa, and I am sanguine even here that upon you a great responsibility lies. You have a clean slate, and I ask you to give up all kinds of animosity which can prevent coöperation for the common good, and also for that imperial dominion which is yours as well as ours."

IV

At Bloemfontein, Mr. Chamberlain received a deputation of Boers headed by General Christian De Wet, who presented him with an address containing these grievances: (1) That the terms of peace had never been given the force of law, and in this connection a case in which a plea under the peace terms had been disallowed in a court of justice was cited. (2) That there had been a violation of the terms in the fact that certain burghers had not been allowed to return. (3) That the administration of education and railways had been centralized in the Transvaal. (4) That in violation of peace terms rebels had not been granted amnesty in spite of all the representations made to the Cape Colony on the subject. (5) That an inquiry should be made into the cases of certain burghers sentenced to imprisonment. (6) That all receipts given by the late Free State Government should be paid. (7) That claims for compensation under Lord Robert's proclamation of June 29, 1900, should be met. (8) That it was a grievous wrong that burghers who had been on commando after September 5, 1901, should be obliged to support their families in the concentration camps. (10) That full compensation should be given for the occupation of burghers' property prior to the conclusion

of peace. Mr. Chamberlain sharply told the deputation that he regarded their address as a reflection on his honor, and on that of the British government, and concluded with affirming that while his government would strictly carry out the terms of peace it certainly would not do what some of the Boers wished — subject those who had been the friends of the government to the will of those who had remained its enemies.

V

On his return from South Africa, Joseph Chamberlain was received as a conquering hero, and the newspapers began to talk of a reconstructed ministry with Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister. On the 19th of March Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that 100,000 Boers had been repatriated, that is, restored to their homes, a large proportion of them from the military prisons in St. Helena, Ceylon, Bermuda and elsewhere. Mr. Chamberlain also stated that the government was giving the new colonists under the peace provision the sum of \$75,000,000 toward the expenses of their resettlement. For awhile England regarded his trip as having worked wonders, though before the year was over little seemed actually to have been accomplished. The policy of conciliation, about which he talked so much during his tour, fell to the ground. The Boers looked to conciliation for some degree of self-government, but all hope of this was denied them and instead they were given the strictest kind of crown colony government backed by a permanent garrison of 25,000 soldiers. Louis Botha, the first of the Boer Generals to surrender, was the first to protest against the new order and to declare that "South Africa was a barren record of promises unfulfilled."

What Mr. Chamberlain actually accomplished toward improving affairs in Cape Colony was scarcely more than forming a friendly alliance with the leaders of the new South African party, Mr. Hofmeyer, Mr. Sauer, and Mr. Merriman, who really dominated South African affairs. Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer were leaders in the House of Assembly. Mr. Hofmeyer was the chief political ally of Cecil Rhodes in his day, and was still a leader of the Dutch-speaking element. Mr. Chamberlain had also succeeded in arranging for the payment of an instalment toward the South African war debt by the owners of the Johannesburg gold mines. A second installment on that debt had

been assumed by the taxpayers of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, who issued bonds for that amount and provided for interest and sinking fund with a British guaranty of the debt in order to make the bonds marketable. Mr. Chamberlain had done nothing toward solving the labor problem in South Africa. The great men of the Rand still demanded forced labor, thus defined by the *London Spectator*: "Forced labor is slavery, and it was to put down slavery, not to enforce it under an alias, that we have fought a hundred years' fight with the Dutch race in South Africa." The Transvaal strenuously objected to the tone adopted by the home opponents of the mine owners. Great Britain, said the Transvaal, did not purchase "the right to dictate our domestic interests, and insult us with the charge of slavery." At the close of the year the labor problem was not yet solved.

Measures for Rehabilitating South Africa

After Mr. Chamberlain's departure Lord Milner energetically devoted himself to administrative details bearing upon repatriation, land settlement, railway extension, mining and labor questions, legislation, measures for rehabilitating the country. In March an intercolonial conference was held at Bloemfontein to decide upon a customs union for South Africa. The provisions of this convention, later ratified by the Governments concerned, provided for the free colonial interchange of produce grown and manufactured within the signatory colonies, and for a rate on oversea goods of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent ad valorem. Agricultural machinery, rubber, mining tools and similar necessities were to be admitted free; on certain goods there was to be a rebate to Great Britain, and to reciprocating British colonies, of 25 per cent, and on another class of goods $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

I

In May the Transvaal legislative council was enlarged by the appointment of fourteen members to hold their seats for two years. The council as originally constituted consisted of sixteen official members, with Sir Arthur Lawley as President, and fourteen unofficial members, six of whom represented the Rand, and five of whom were Boers. It was opened at Pretoria on May 20, Sir Arthur Lawley outlining its legislative work — measures dealing with local self-gov-

ernment. The magistracy and the creation of local advisory boards to counsel the government on educational matters. In the Transvaal Legislature on July 15 the budget for 1903 and 1904 was introduced. It showed that for the year ending June, 1903, the revenue from ordinary sources amounted to £4,682,000, and the expenditure for the same period to £4,578,000, distributed as follows: South African constabulary, £1,250,000; Public Works, £969,000; Education, £259,000; Posts and Telegraphs, £315,000. The £104,000, balance of revenue over expenditure, was required as a contribution to the intercolonial budget to meet the interest on the first installment of the war debt. Lord Milner, returning to England in August on a few months' leave of absence, spoke of the financial result as remarkable and gratifying. Sir Arthur Lawley was sworn in as Acting High Commissioner, and his first act was an order providing for the administration of Swaziland by a resident commissioner, assistant commissioners and a judiciary; the finances of the country to be left under the control of the Transvaal treasury.

II

The labor commission appointed by Lord Milner early in the year did not conclude its work until November, when it published both a majority and a minority report. The former showed that the difficulty of obtaining sufficient labor had hampered the development of the mines since the discovery of gold; also that the idea of indirectly forcing the native to work by imposing additional taxation upon him dated from that time. The report recognized that fully 197,644 natives were needed in the gold district. Of these 68,280 had been employed in July, and the difference, 129,364, represented the number which must be forthcoming to meet the immediate requirements of the Transvaal. The report gave figures showing that over 88 per cent of the labor of the Rand came from the east coast, Portuguese; the Transvaal providing a little over 7 per cent; Cape Colony 2 per cent, and the other regions very small proportions. The question why, with so many millions of blacks, there should be such a scarcity of labor was answered by pointing out that the African native tribes are, for the most part, primitive pastoral people who easily supply their animal wants, and whose standard of needs is extremely low. The Commission did not favor the idea of compulsion upon the negro; nor did it

attach much importance to the idea of higher taxation. The report dismissed white labor with the statement that the evidence of the past is overwhelmingly and conclusively against the contention that white labor can successfully compete with black in the lower fields of manual industry.

The minority report treated of the evidence of the representatives of the mine owners as being not necessarily dishonest, but selfish, dictated by purely commercial interests. It contended that the native supply was sufficient for present needs, that the so-called shortage was due to temporary and preventable causes, and that native labor could in many ways be supplemented and superseded by white. The majority report, while it did not specifically recommend the importation of Asiatics, did make the comprehensive declaration that labor was insufficient, and that no adequate supply existed in South or Central Africa. Mr. Skinner, who had spent some time in China on a mission of inquiry, made public a report that had the effect of diminishing repugnance to the idea of Chinese immigration. He insisted that Chinese labor would not affect the rates for white labor and would, by extending the area of work, provide additional employment for skilled white artisans. He believed that a sufficient number of Chinese could easily be recruited for present and future needs, and that in a few months gold production could be appreciably accelerated.

Satisfactory State of Egypt

All departments of the Egyptian government seemed to be working smoothly during the year. The Sudan revenue in 1903, according to Lord Cromer's annual report, showed a satisfactory increase, exceeding the estimate by £34,000. These additional resources were employed in furthering the development of the country and in improving the administration. Sir Eldon Gorst's memorandum showed a balance in the hands of the Egyptian government of £2,080,000 when the accounts for the year were closed. Beside the reduction of the land tax, there was appropriated for useful and productive public works, such as further irrigation, sanitation, roads, railways, and other improvements, something over £1,000,000. The council of ministers had authorized an advance for the construction of a railway to connect the valley of the upper Nile near Berber with the Red Sea at Suakin. With regard to

irrigation, Lord Cromer was able to show that the Assiout Dam had repaid the greater portion of its cost in the first year of its completion. Sir Rudolf von Slatin, who, during the three previous years, had traveled over the whole country in his capacity of Inspector-General, reported in 1903 the whole situation in the Sudan as very satisfactory. "Everywhere I went," he said, "from north to south, and from east to west, I found that, compared with last year, villages and cultivation had increased; the population was larger and wealthier; flocks and herds were more numerous; security prevailed and general satisfaction was expressed with the present rule." The great need of the Sudan was capital expenditure on a large scale, and unaided private enterprise could not be expected to supply this want.

Slight Progress in Uganda

In Uganda and the East African Protectorates, peace was maintained, and some slight progress reported. Colonel Hayes Saddler, the Commissioner of Uganda, made a series of tours during the year, and his reports show that the expenditure for 1903 was nearly six times as much as the receipts, which amounted to a little over £44,900. The value of the trade with Uganda was estimated at about £103,000. Great Britain possessed 60 per cent of the import trade. The hut tax was being collected without trouble, and the Uganda railway was revolutionizing the life of the people, and raising the standard of prosperity. "Among the people," wrote Colonel Saddler, "there has been quiet and contentment and patience under a deadly epidemic. This epidemic was a scourge called the 'sleeping sickness.'" The investigations of the Royal Society established the fact that it was transmitted by a species of fly. No cure for it was discovered. Sir C. Elliott's report, of the East Africa Protectorate, showed that the revenue received was about £100,000, and the expenditure, not including that for the railway, was over twice that amount. While the report afforded no evidence of commercial or financial progress, Sir C. Elliott contended that "East Africa is the greatest philanthropic achievement of our time. It is no longer a human hunting ground, where the hunters did not even take ordinary cautions for preserving the game. A large part of it is a white man's country, a rich country, now suitable for European colonization."

India's Interests

India's great Durbar was held at Delhi on January 1. It was attended by one hundred ruling chiefs, and the estimated number of visitors was 137,000. The Viceroy, Lord Curzon, held a grand review of 30,000 troops on January 8, the closing day. The spectacle was a remarkably imposing one, graced by the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, who had been deputed by King Edward and Queen Alexandra as Emperor and Empress of India to represent them on this occasion. The ceremonies were admirably managed. The cost of the Durbar was estimated at £180,000. It was made the occasion by Mr. Phipps to present the Viceroy with the gift of £20,000 to be devoted partly to the establishment of a laboratory for agricultural research, and partly to the provision of a second Pasteur institute for Southern India.

During the year the Viceroy appointed commissions to consider the questions of police, railways, irrigation, and the Indian Universities. The revenue for the year showed an increase of over £2,500,000, and the expenditure an increase of a little over £6,000. In the latter there was a net decrease of £802,000 over the preceding year. In army services there was a decrease of over £500,000 and there was also a decrease of military and civil establishments. Famine caused an expenditure during the year of over £313,000. At the beginning of the year, famine lingered only in parts of Bombay, and the central provinces. In April over 13,000 persons were receiving gratuitous relief and 40,000 more were employed on relief works. By the end of July, however, the government of India was able to report to the Home Government that no further relief would be required, and that no further weekly returns would be issued. The total number of deaths from plague during the year was 842,264. Toward the close of the year Sir Charles Ribas, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, reported that the work of inoculation undertaken by his government had been kept entirely free from official pressure, and the number of inoculations had reached 481,592. Results showed that while inoculation could not be regarded as an actual preventive of plague, it considerably reduced the rate of mortality among those who were attacked. It was the settled policy of the government not to force

on the people any preventive measures against plague, the only duty made compulsory being that of reporting all the cases.

Colonial Problems of Other Countries

President Loubet, of France, set forth on Easter day, to visit Algeria, the extensive French possession in Northern Africa, whence French colonial enterprise has ramified southward into the heart of the Dark Continent. Not since Napoleon III set foot on African soil, had any of the "great white Sultans," as the Algerians call their French rulers, visited Algiers until President Loubet entered the harbor on April 15, amid the tremendous salutes of forts and warships. Russian, British, Italian, and American squadrons were present to extend international greetings. The program of President Loubet's tour, carefully prepared by the Governor of the province, M. Révoil, and the Ministry, was singularly disturbed. On the day fixed for the President's departure, the Governor tendered his resignation for the reason that M. Combes held him responsible for abusive articles published in a paper belonging to his father-in-law. Protests and petitions were promptly voted by the general and municipal councils of Algiers, but the announcement that the Minister responsible for the affair would not accompany the President put an end to the agitation. M. Révoil was succeeded by his predecessor, M. Jonnart. In spite of this contretemps at the outset, the tour proved a gratifying one to both France and her colonists. President Loubet bestowed a good many favors on the Algerians, which indirectly strengthened the position of France in Northern Algiers.

France took considerable pride in the reports from the French Sudan and the coast colonies. The country was said to have excellent roads, to be well populated and extensively cultivated. The upper valley of the Niger gave promise of a great fortune as a cotton growing area. The French government spent large sums of money in improving Dakar, the principal port in French West Africa. In the French Congo there was some falling off in trade, attributed to the unsettled difficulties arising from the concessionaire system, attacked by British merchants. In French Indo-China, the railway from Hanoi to Nanchinh was opened on January 8. Two other important lines were under construction. The foreign trade showed an increase of \$7,000,000.

In the month of June, France inaugurated in Paris a colonial office and a commercial museum which were expected to be of greatest utility to French colonies and colonists. The work of the office was divided into two sections, that of commerce and that of colonization. The commercial section was designed to collect information useful to merchants in colonial trade, maintain a permanent exposition of colonial products and foreign products consumed in the colonies and aid in introducing new imports. The colonization section was charged with the encouragement of emigration to the colonies and the publication of information desired by settlers and those who wished to establish industries and commercial houses in the colonies.

Holland's colonial possessions offered some rather grave problems for her administration. Economic questions of a serious nature were raised in Java, where there was great distress among the natives, requiring the assistance of the Government. In Northern Sumatra the insurrection of the Achinese was kept in check with less difficulty than formerly. The Sultan submitted at the beginning of the year. His example was soon followed by two of his strongest chiefs. Peace was kept with vigilance, however, and one Dutch troop which fell into the hands of an ambush, lost its captain and three men. For a number of years the Achinese had been in a state of perpetual revolution. The Dutch had been able to keep control along the line of railroad and in the narrow limits around blockhouses and stockaded settlements. The rest of the territory had been pretty much at the mercy of the Achinese, who fought stubbornly for every foot of their soil. The war may be said to have dated from the year 1874, when the Dutch captured the city of Achin and the natives were driven out of the cultivated districts. The submission of the chief leaders of the rebellious tribes in 1903 seemed to promise Holland an opportunity to improve and develop her colony.

Navy Increase

Questions of national expenditure involve different problems in different countries. Army and navy increase was the main question before the majority of them, particularly in the United States. Secretary of War Moody, in his annual report, announced a programme of \$1,000,000,000 for a naval expenditure in 1904-5. This was in keep-

ing with the statement in the President's message, "There should be no cessation in adding to the effective units of the fighting strength of the fleet. We need the establishment by law of a body of trained officers who shall exercise the systematic control of the military affairs of the navy, and be authorized advisors of the secretary concerning it." During the year the navy was increased by twenty-seven vessels: one first-class battleship, one protected cruiser, four harbor defense monitors, one torpedo boat and seven submarines. The total number of ships on the active list was 184. Thirty-nine vessels were in the course of construction, including fourteen first-class battleships.

Army Reforms

I

Secretary Root, in the report of the Department of War, showed the actual strength of the Army to be 3,681 officers and 55,500 enlisted men; 41,832 stationed in the United States; 15,510 in the Philippines; 719 in Cuba; 212 in Porto Rico; 197 in the Hawaiian Islands; 151 in China, and 560 in Alaska. There were also in the service 26 officers and 520 enlisted men in the Porto Rico Regiment, 99 officers and 4,805 enlisted Philippine Scouts, and 2,807 hospital corps men. These figures show a total net decrease during the year of 11,978. On February 14, 1903, Congress abolished the office of Commander-in-Chief, substituting for it a general staff, consisting of "one Chief of Staff and two general officers, all to be detailed by the President from officers of the Army at large, not below the grade of brigadier-general; four colonels, six lieutenant-colonels, and twelve majors, to be detailed from the corresponding grades in the Army at large, under such rules for selection as the President may prescribe; twenty captains, to be detailed from officers of the Army at large of the grades of captain or first lieutenant, who while so serving shall have the rank, pay, and allowances of captain mounted." The selection of the personnel of the General Staff Corps, except the Chief and two assistant Chiefs, was committed to a board of general officers placed under oath to make such selections upon records alone, which operated to inspire confidence in the general staff scheme and eliminated any possible criticism that details to such duty might be dictated by non-professional influences. The list of officers thus selected as a whole

gave satisfaction to the Army. Every man chosen by the board was a West Point graduate, twenty-three classes being represented. The Chief of Staff, under the direction of the President and the Secretary of War, was given supervision over all the troops of the line and the several staff departments. The general staff was required by law "to prepare plans for the national defense and for the mobilization of the military forces in time of war; to investigate and report upon all questions affecting the efficiency of the Army and its state of preparation for military operations; to render professional aid and assistance to the Secretary of War." On August 8, 1903, General Nelson A. Miles passed, by operation of law, from the active to the retired list, and General S. B. M. Young occupied the office of Commanding General until August 15, when that title lapsed and the law establishing the General Staff Corps became effective with General Young as the first Chief of Staff. Brigadier-General Wood became Major-General, succeeding Major General Young thus promoted.

II

President Roosevelt's criticism in his message of the promotion system in the Army was made the subject of considerable comment. The point was made that "ability, energy, fidelity, and all other similar qualities, determine the rank of a man year after year in West Point, and his standing in the Army when he graduates from West Point, but from that time on all effort to find which man is best or worst and reward and punish him accordingly is abandoned. No brilliancy, no amount of hard work, no eagerness in the performance of duty can advance him, and no slackness or indifference that falls short of a court-martial offense can retard him. Until this system is changed, we cannot hope that our officers will be of as high grade as we have a right to expect." The President suggested a system of grade to grade promotion, in which merit, determined by the opinion of the higher officers in the service, as well as seniority, should govern.

Military Expenditures in Europe

I

Great Britain's budget showed an expenditure of £34,500,000 for the army; £34,457,000 for the navy. The close of the war in South Africa, as explained by the War Secretary's statement, while enabling

a great reduction to be made in the army estimates, still left a sum of nearly £7,000,000 in excess of the normal army services. The reduction from war to peace establishments, though proceeding with great rapidity during the year, still left a surplus of men on a home establishment. Mr. Brodrick estimated that there were on the establishment 207,000 men; that if an expeditionary force were needed 120,000 men would go abroad. He deprecated any hasty reduction of expenditure, since it would lead to increased outlay, accompanied by unsatisfactory results. When the reserves had reached the number of 100,000, he considered it time to reduce the number of men. On March 9 Mr. Brodrick made an important announcement on the subject of education to the military officer. He held that it was desirable to admit the representatives of the educational world as associates in elevating the personnel of the army, and for this purpose he proposed to bring to the assistance of the new Director General of Education and Training an Advisory Board, consisting of the heads of Woolwich, Sandhurst, the Staff College, and the Ordnance College, of two representatives of the Universities, a representative selected by the Incorporated Association of Head Masters, another selected by the Head Masters' Conference, another by the Royal Society, and two members nominated by the Secretary of State in accordance with the recommendations of the Military Education Committee.

II

Germany's army estimates for the year provided for the recurring expenditures to the amount of \$112,040,200, an increase of \$110,400 over 1902; an installment of \$20,000 being asked to meet the expenses in connection with erecting a military technical college for officers in Berlin. Naval estimates provided for expenditures amounting to \$23,349,000, an increase of \$1,634,000 over 1902. Of the total, over \$16,000,000 were to be devoted to shipbuilding. Large sum was devoted to the support of one new vice-admiral, five captains, 25 lieutenant captains, 73 lieutenants, 62 cadets, 24 naval engineers, and 2,033 men. In anticipation of criticism by Socialists and others on these estimates, the Emperor presented to the Reichstag a table drawn by his own hand showing the relative strength of Great Britain and Germany in battleships and other vessels available for active service. According to this table, there were then in commission a

total of 40 British and 12 German battleships, 14 British and 2 German armored cruisers, 209 British and 17 German cruisers with an armored deck. In England 12 battleships, 20 armored cruisers and 8 cruisers with an armored deck were being constructed, while Germany was building six battleships, three armored cruisers and six cruisers with an armored deck.

III

In Russia the most pressing question of expenditure was to provide for the defense of the country, and only those sums which remained after the cost of the army and navy had been met could be devoted to the satisfaction of educational requirements. The current state expenditure had been doubled in the last ten years, and enormous loans had been raised to cover the expenditure on the Siberian Railway which could not be paid out of taxation. In the Netherlands, the Minister of War advocated the expenditure of 7,000,000 florins to provide for the acquisition of 204 guns. In Switzerland also the Federal Council laid before the Federal Chambers a resolution for the acquisition of 72 batteries of artillery, to be supplied by the Krupp works, at a total estimated cost of \$4,400,000, and the required credit was voted. Spain decided to raise the strength of her army 200,000 men, and for that purpose the war estimate reached 103,000,000 pesetas. Sweden expended 6,000,000 kr. upon the military and naval serv-
tas.

CHAPTER VII

ACHIEVEMENTS OF LEGISLATION

Little legislation of first importance was enacted by the fifty-seventh Congress of the United States, which expired March 4, 1903, except the creation of a Department of Commerce and Labor, and the passage of acts to increase the efficiency of the militia and to expedite the hearing of suits in equity brought against corporations charged with violating the anti-trust laws or forming monopolistic combinations in restraint of trade. In addition it established a general staff for the army, made generous provision for relieving distress in and improving the administration in the Philippines and passed bills regulating Hawaiian coinage, providing rebate of duties on coal, increasing the salaries of judges of the United States Courts, restricting the immigration of aliens, and authorizing the erection of a new building for the Department of Agriculture. Altogether sixteen measures were enacted.

A New Department Created

The bill providing for the new department received the President's signature on February 14. The Department of Commerce and Labor thus created consisted of the Bureau of Corporations, the Bureau of Labor, the Lighthouse Establishment, the Steamboat Inspection Service, the Bureau of Standards, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Commission and the Bureau of Immigration, the Bureau of Navigation, the Bureau of Statistics, the Shipping Commission, the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, the Census Bureau, and the Fish Commission. Mr. George B. Cortelyou was appointed secretary of the department with a seat in the Cabinet. His first report, published in December, seemed a sufficient justification for the creation of the new department. Its work was shown to be broad in scope and essential in value. The administration of the different bureaus, which had been transferred

at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, reflected credit on their respective heads: Carroll D. Wright, of the Labor Bureau, S. N. D. North, director of the census, James R. Garfield, of the Bureau of Corporations, Commissioner Sargent, of the Immigration Bureau, and Mr. Austin, of the Bureau of Statistics. Mr. Cortelyou made a strong argument for bringing all these bureaus together into a new and appropriate building.

II

When the new department was created, it was feared by certain factions and hoped by others that its chief work was going to be that of investigating and exposing the trusts. It was clear from this report that trust exposure was but a small part of the great business on hand. As to its policy the Secretary said: "The department was not established to control the energies of the people. By furnishing them with needed information it can help intelligence and self-reliance to put forth efforts in trade with the best results. Conditions exactly as they are will be shown in a true and impartial light." In addition to Secretary Cortelyou's clear statement of the work and methods of the new department, several paragraphs of President Roosevelt's message were devoted to the aims and principles that guided the development of this great branch of the national government, summing up as follows:

"The Department of Commerce and Labor will be not only the clearing house for information regarding the business transactions of the nation, but the executive arm of the government, to aid in strengthening our domestic and foreign markets, in perfecting our transportation facilities, in building up our merchant marine, in preventing the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in improving commercial and industrial conditions, and in bringing together on common ground those necessary partners in industrial progress — capital and labor."

III

Mr. Cortelyou's career presents the unparalleled achievement of rising from stenographer to cabinet officer in seven years. Without any seeking on his own part, without any political backing, without even being asked what his politics were, Mr. Cortelyou at thirty-three years of age went to the White House as President Cleveland's Sec-

retary. As the story is told, President Cleveland said at a Cabinet meeting: "I wish you gentlemen to bear in mind that I want a first-class shorthand man. Some of you must have the right kind of man in your department, and I wish you would look around and let me have one." Postmaster General Bissell immediately replied: "I believe I have in my department the very man you want. He's a handsome young fellow, as smart as lightning, and as methodical as a machine, and above everything, a gentleman." "That's the kind of a fellow I want," said the President, "who is he, where is he, and when can I have him?" "He's a New Yorker named Cortelyou," said the Postmaster-General, "and he is now private secretary to Maxwell, the fourth assistant Postmaster-General."

Three months after coming into office President Cleveland promoted Mr. Cortelyou to be executive clerk, which position he held until he became assistant secretary, and then secretary to President McKinley, and, after the tragedy at Buffalo, secretary to President Roosevelt, adapting himself to the point of view, the manner of transacting business, the method of preparing public papers, or writing letters, of each of three presidents entirely different in temperament and methods, and yet, so perfectly suiting the needs of each that each in time came to look upon him as a valued friend and counsellor. And when, upon learning that Congress would pass the bill creating the new Department of Commerce and Labor, and so add a new member to the Cabinet, President Roosevelt said that when the bill became a law he would appoint Mr. Cortelyou as the first head of the new department, there was not only substantial unanimity in the expressions of approval, but no candidates appeared for the new office, notwithstanding its attractions for many men. No similar incident had occurred in our history.

Anti-Trust Measures

Anti-trust agitation brought forth some tangible and satisfactory results. The confused mass of legislative opinion emerged into something like definite form under the hands of Representatives Littlefield, Overstreet, and Powers, revised by Attorney-General Knox. This bill, which it was claimed, had the sanction of the administration, won an easy victory in the House though it was shelved in the Senate. Its

three most important features, however, were practically incorporated in three separate measures enacted by the fifty-seventh Congress. The Nelson Amendment of the Department of Commerce bill, as adopted, provided for publicity. The Interstate Commerce Commission, in its discretion, was authorized to call upon corporations engaged in interstate commerce for specific information regarding certain features of business, which the public ought reasonably be allowed to know. The Elkins rebate bill provided against rebates and discriminations. The shipper as well as the transportation company was made subject to punishment for violating this provision, making it an offense to receive as well as to grant rebates. These measures followed an earlier one which provided for more expeditious handling by the courts of pending and prospective litigation against illegal trusts and combinations. It strengthened the provision against lowering prices to freeze out competition, and made any corporation engaged in interstate commerce which should lower prices with the intent to raise them again after securing control of the market, subject to prosecution.

Army Reorganization

Much needed modernization of our National Guard was promised in the new militia law signed by the President in February. In general it aimed to make the militia more efficient, so to organize it that in event of war there would be no likelihood of confusion. It provided that the different states receive military appropriations from the Federal Government if they live up to the terms of the law. Modern equipments are to be furnished. Officers of the regular army are to serve as militia instructors, while militia officers are encouraged to attend army colleges and schools by promise of the pay, quarters, and subsistence of regular officers of the same rank. State militia organizations must be inspected once a year by Federal officers, must annually drill in camp for at least five days, and must also meet for drill twenty-four times in the year. If these and other requirements are not observed, the Federal Government will refuse to furnish arms, ammunition; and supplies. When war occurs the President may call out the militia for nine months of service, and the troops may expect to take up arms under their own officers. The General Staff law, centralizing the executive and strategic branches

of army administration, was taken up in the previous chapter, as were also the provisions for the Philippines.

The New Immigration Law

The fifty-seventh Congress went farther than any of its predecessors in dealing with the immigration question. The law passed just before adjournment, though omitting the educational test, was sweeping in its general provisions. The head tax was increased from \$1 to \$2, citizens of Cuba, Mexico, and Canada, being exempt. To the class of aliens hitherto excluded from admission to the United States were added: Epileptics, persons who have been insane within five years previous to landing, persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time; professional beggars, anarchists, or persons who advocate the overthrow of government. Skilled labor may be imported if like labor unemployed cannot be found in this country. This provision does not apply to persons belonging to the professions or to persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants. The definition of alien contract labor was enlarged to include not only those coming under contract or agreement but those coming under pursuance of any offer or solicitation to perform labor of any kind, "skilled or unskilled." To promise employment in this country through advertisements in foreign publications was made a violation of the law. The penalty for attempting to land an alien unlawfully was made more stringent, fine and a maximum imprisonment of three years instead of one. A fine of \$100 was to be imposed on any person bringing an alien afflicted with a loathsome or contagious disease. The decision of the Board of Special Inquiry was made final as to the exclusion of aliens afflicted with mental or physical disability. The new act required information as to whether each alien has \$50 instead of \$30 as formerly. It extended the time from one to two years within which aliens may be deported for becoming public charges, and made the vessels bringing over such aliens defray the cost of deportation. It also extended the time in which the Secretary of the Treasury may deport unlawful aliens found in the country from one to three years. It authorized detailing immigration officers in foreign countries temporarily. It defined the jurisdiction of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, and gave him direct control over all immigration officials.

Measures Lost by Filibustering

Dilatory tactics obstructed the business of both the House and the Senate. Criticism went so far as to intimate that no other parliamentary body on earth would tolerate such obstruction of public business, and it was charged that the rules of the Senate left corruption and subsidy at a frightful premium. The industrial trusts, or the great railway combinations could reach their ends by retaining two or three men who have as great a contempt for public opinion as they have for their own private honor, who by throwing obstacles in the way of a trust bill or a canal bill do the work for which it used to be necessary to buy a large majority of the legislative body. The House proved that it is still not beyond the reach of public admonition, but there was a strong feeling that the Senate had become the open tool of private interests. The Senators had taken upon themselves to defeat a measure of acknowledged public importance in revenge for the failure of an indefensible partisan scheme. The Senatorial courtesy system, which enables one Senator to prevent the passage of a bill never before reached such a height as in the Fifty-seventh Congress. Mr. Quay with his statehood bill, Mr. Morgan in his opposition to the Panama canal, Mr. Turner's aversion to the reduction of the Philippine tariff, the "Senators from Havemeyer" against Cuban reciprocity — in each and every case "courtesy" demanded that private interests be given precedence over the will of the majority.

Protracted debate over the so-called "omnibus Statehood bill" seriously obstructed the work of the Senate throughout the greater part of January and February. This was a measure so devised as to admit as States into the Union by a single vote the three territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma. The majority of the Senate was committed to this bill and the "filibusters" took advantage of the Senate rules to thwart the will of this majority. On the other hand it was claimed that the real obstructionists were "those who had framed an improper bill, and by parliamentary ingenuity secured for it a preferred place on the calendar." It was held that the bill, while acceptable to the Senators representing special interests, was not satisfactory to the people of the Territories themselves.

The Aldrich Currency Bill was the outcome of the discussion following Secretary Shaw's action, and its purpose was to extend the

facilities for government deposits in the national banks. Under existing statutes receipts from internal revenue might, as they were collected, be deposited with the national banks, such deposits drawing no interest, but being secured by a first lien on the assets of a bank and by the pledge of United States government bonds to an equivalent face value in the hands of the Treasurer. Secretary Shaw extended the list of accepted collateral to certain state and municipal securities, but the legal authority for this move was seriously in doubt, and the treasury had already receded from its position. The Aldrich bill sought to create the authority which was lacking, and in other ways enlarge the treasury's power to keep its surplus in the money market. Briefly summed up, the bill provided that the Secretary might deposit in bank public moneys received, not merely from internal revenue, but from all sources, that he should exact from the depositories an interest rate of at least one and one half per cent, and that he might accept as collateral, not only government bonds, but state and municipal bonds of the prescribed standing, and first mortgage bonds of railways whose stock has regularly paid four per cent for the ten preceding years. These provisions, in connection with the government's first lien on the assets of failed banks constituted an ample safeguard, and placed the public deposit matter as nearly in a rational position as it could occupy.

The Final Filibuster

The Democrats asserted their willingness to accept full responsibility for the final filibuster. In the Senate they talked to death the Aldrich currency bill and the Philippine tariff bill, declaring that Senator Beveridge and other Republican leaders against the Statehood bill had so hampered business that there was no time left even for such important measures as ratifying the Cuban treaty, the Panama treaty, and the Newfoundland Reciprocity treaty. Nevertheless the appropriation bills were put safely through. Altogether the fifty-seventh Congress in its two sessions appropriated \$1,554,108,518 as compared with \$1,440,489,438 appropriated by the fifty-sixth. The Senate was composed of 56 Republicans, and 33 Democrats, the House of 153 Democrats, 198 Republicans and 5 Populists. Speaker Henderson left the House with this session.

The Panama Canal Treaty

An extra session of the Senate was required to pass upon the impending treaties. The Panama Canal treaty was ratified on March 17, by a vote of seventy-three to five. Various amendments had been offered by Senator Morgan and other Democrats, but all were voted down, and the convention stood as it was drawn up by Secretary Hay and Doctor Herran, the Colombian chargé d'affaires. It provided for the exercise by the United States of the rights acquired by the purchase of the property of the Panama Canal Company, for which we had agreed to pay the French company \$40,000,000. The treaty gave the United States the use of the territory three miles wide on each side of the canal for one hundred years, renewable at the option of this government. The canal was declared neutral in perpetuity, and Colombia agreed to provide armed forces for the protection of the canal if necessary, and in the event of her inability to do so the United States was authorized to employ forces for that purpose. Work was to begin within two years, and the canal to be opened for passage within fourteen years. For the exclusive rights and privileges secured to the United States by the treaty Colombia was to receive \$10,000,000 in gold, and \$250,000 annually after the expiration of nine years.

Our Plain Duty to Cuba

I

The amended Cuban Reciprocity Treaty was ratified on March 19 after which the Senate adjourned. The vote in favor of ratification stood fifty to sixteen, only one Republican voting against it. As ratified, the treaty provided that all merchandise produced by either country which now enters the other duty free shall continue free of import duties. All other Cuban products imported into the United States shall enter at a reduction of twenty per cent from the rate of duty imposed by the United States on such articles of merchandise. All imports into Cuba from the United States not entitled to free entry shall be given a reduction of twenty per cent, except those for which a greater reduction is made. These greater reductions range from twenty-five per cent for machinery to thirty per cent for butter and other articles, and forty per cent for cotton and wool manufactures. The treaty was further amended so

as to provide that no other reductions in duties on sugar should be made within five years. On one hand the action of Congress was interpreted to mean that the Republican party had adopted as its own the President's policy of justice to Cuba, and could not recede. On the other hand, there were those who claimed that by the treaty the Sugar Trust was protected, and our reciprocity with Cuba was merely reciprocity with a club. Foreign opinion regarded it as a detriment to Great Britain and Germany.

II

In ratifying the treaty the Senate had added to Article XI the words: "This convention shall not take effect until the same shall have been approved by Congress." The object of this amendment was to meet the constitutional provision that legislation affecting the revenues must originate in the House of Representatives. The house was thus required to originate an enabling bill, and for that purpose President Roosevelt issued a call for an extraordinary session of Congress to meet on November 9. Ten days later the House in special session passed the Cuban Reciprocity bill, providing a twenty per cent reduction in the duties on Cuban imports into this country. The vote stood 335 to 21, the only opponents being certain Republicans from Minnesota and Michigan and Democrats from Texas and Louisiana. On December 16, the Senate in regular session passed the bill by a vote of 57 to 17, all the Republicans voting for it except Senator Bard of California. The following day the President signed the bill and announced that the treaty would go into effect on December 27. Thus tardily did we perform what we had long recognized as "our plain duty to Cuba."

Approval and congratulation were expressed on every hand in the United States, in Cuba, and in Europe. The country at large endorsed the view expressed in the President's special message: "This reciprocity treaty stands by itself. It is demanded on considerations of broad national policy as well as by our economic interest. It will do harm to no industry. It will benefit many industries. It is in the interest of our people as a whole to develop and secure the rich Cuban market for our farmers, artisans, merchants and manufacturers. Finally it is desirable as a guaranty of the good faith of our nation toward her young sister republic, whose welfare must ever be closely

bound with ours. We gave her liberty . . . We must help her onward and upward; and in helping her we shall help ourselves."

New State Laws

State legislation furnished few measures of prime interest or importance. Oregon's referendum law went into effect in February, so amended as to provide that legislation may be initiated by the voters after an election which must be called when five per cent of the qualified electors of the state petition for it. New laws do not become operative until ninety days after their approval, and a referendum election must be held upon them when five per cent of the qualified electors petition for it within the ninety-day period. In Pennsylvania the Salus-Grady libel law went into effect in May. It provided that civil actions may be brought against newspapers for negligence "in the ascertainment of facts and in making publications affecting the character, reputation, or business of citizens"; and that, when such negligence is proved, compensatory damages may be recovered, together with punitive damages where the matter is libelous and has been given special prominence by means of cartoons or display type. The act also requires newspapers to print at the head of their editorial pages the names of their owners, managing editors, etc., under a maximum penalty of \$1,000.

British Parliamentary Projects

King Edward opened the British Parliament in person on February 17 with a speech expressing gratification, confidence, and hope. The Venezuelan affair, the Alaskan boundary, Mr. Chamberlain's assurances of progress in South Africa, were viewed optimistically. The condition of the European provinces of Turkey gave "cause for serious anxiety" and the King advocated hearty support of the Austro-Russian program. The Aden dispute, the Somaliland expedition, the occupation of Kano, the Indian Durbar, were referred to, and the not unexpected announcement was made that the needs of the Empire made "a large expenditure inevitable." These questions which came up for parliamentary discussion and debate have all been treated in previous chapters. His Majesty's program of legislation for the session included bills dealing with the Irish land question, London education,



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sugar bounties, licensing law in Scotland, the law of assessment, London docks, the employment of children, pure food, and savings banks. When the King prorogued Parliament on August 14, the four measures first named had been passed, and the others had reached different stages of legislation, though the all-absorbing topic of the entire session had been Mr. Chamberlain's protectionist campaign discussed in Chapter I.

The Irish Land Bill

I

One really monumental achievement must be credited to this session of Parliament, the passing of the Irish Land bill. It was a far-reaching, epoch-making measure, frankly contemplating, for the first time in the history of Irish agrarian legislation, the total abolition of the dual ownership of the soil. The bill was introduced on March 25 by Mr. Wyndham, Secretary for Ireland. Before taking up the provisions of the bill, it is necessary to look into the report of the Irish Land Conference published early in January. This Conference (see OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II) was the outcome of a voluntary and unofficial movement to bring together representatives of the Irish landlords and tenants. The report was signed by Lords Dunraven and Mayo, Colonels Hutchinson, Poe, and Nugent Everard, representing the landlords' side, and by the National leader, Mr. John Redmond, by Mr. William O'Brien, and Mr. T. W. Russell, members of Parliament, and by Mr. T. C. Harrington, Lord Mayor of Dublin, representing the tenants' side. The conclusions reached by the Conference pointed to unprecedented coöperation between the two parties. The plan agreed upon was an arrangement by which the tenant could purchase a freehold from the landlord, thus substituting peasant proprietary for tenancy. The method recommended was that of voluntary purchase by direct agreement between owner and occupier, the price being "based upon income." Income was defined as "second term rents" or their equivalent — the price being the State's guarantee of such income, or the payment of a capital sum producing such income at 3 per cent. To achieve this great end an appeal was made for the pledging of Imperial credit to the extent of \$250,000,000, and further assistance from the Treasury was asked in order to make good the difference between the price which the tenants were ready to pay for their holdings and the price which the owner could afford to accept.

II

Mr. Wyndham in introducing the bill announced at the outset that cash aid as well as a credit operation was contemplated by the Government. He stated that, while it had not been found advisable to adopt all measures recommended by the report of the Land conference, the bill provided that in the future in the great majority of cases purchase should take the form of purchase of estates. Landlords were to be allowed to make arrangements with their tenantry which would be submitted for approval. Estates Commissioners were to be appointed to supervise and to conclude such transactions. The three Commissioners proposed were Mr. F. S. Wrench, Land Commissioner and member of Congested Districts Board, known as a "landlords' man"; Mr. Michael Finucane, formerly Commissioner of Bengal and Director of Agriculture for India, regarded as disinterested and non-partisan; and Mr. W. F. Bailey, legal Assistant Commissioner to the Land Commissioner, recognized throughout Ireland as the most efficient man on the staff of the Commission.

Speaking from "the average Ulster farmer's" point of view, Mr. T. W. Russell said of the bill: "As far as landlord and tenant are concerned, the question narrows itself into a single and at first sight, a simple issue. The one asks, What am I to receive for my property? The other asks, What am I to pay for the free hold of land I cultivate, and partly own? The bill with its forty-three clauses really centers in reply to the two questions." The proposals of the government were: 1. In the case of purchase of first term rents, i. e., rents fixed by the land court, for the first statutory period of fifteen years, the terminable annuities to be paid by the tenant purchaser must be at least 20 and not more than 40 per cent below the rent, 2. In the case of the purchases of second term rents, the terminable annuity must be at least 10 and not more than 30 per cent below the rent. Thus the price was to be a matter of negotiation and arrangement between landlord and tenant. If the parties agree within the prescribed limits, then there is no more to be said. The provision of the bill on this head was mandatory. The bill was quite clear in regard to rents fixed by judicial authority. It was quite otherwise in regard to rents not so fixed; that is, for example, many thousands of future tenants.

The bill differed from its predecessors in one particular. All

previous land bills conveyed the freehold of the land to the purchasers, while this bill did not pretend to do so. The purchasing tenant paid a terminable annuity on account of seven-eighths of the property. The remaining eighth is irredeemable, and constitutes a perpetual rent charge payable to the crown. One of the least satisfactory parts of the bill and one that required alteration, was the method of repaying the advance made by the tenant. Stringent provisions against sub-division and mortgaging of holdings were contained in the bill; as a safeguard one-eighth of the annuity payable by the tenant would be kept as a perpetual rent charge. The commissioners were not to purchase an estate unless three-fourths of the tenants agreed to buy, with the exception of untenanted land which might be sold to evicted tenants. In forming new holdings the total sum advanced by the state was not to exceed \$2,500 per district.

III

The burden placed on the tax payer was two-fold,—credit to the amount of \$500,000,000, and cash to the extent of \$60,000,000 more. The landlords were to be paid in cash. In order to raise the necessary money a new guaranteed $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ stock was to be created, giving Ireland the great benefit attached to Imperial credit. Any loss that might arise in the flotation of this stock was to be made good out of the Irish Development Fund, and a sum of \$250,000 a year for four years was to be taken out of the Irish fund for the purpose. All the imperial contributions to local rates in Ireland were turned into the guarantee fund made available to repair any possible loss. A better security than these material provisions was to be found in the fact that out of \$115,000,000 already advanced under the various Purchase Acts nothing had been lost. Mr. Wyndham in asking a State grant, or bonus, of \$60,000,000 was simply repeating the well-known fiscal operation of Mr. Gladstone half a century before, when he first imposed the income tax upon Ireland, and, as a solatium, wiped out the balance of the famine loans.

For regulating the application of this State grant the bill proposed, beginning with the estates where the purchase money was \$25,000, to allow 15% as a bonus, ending with the estates where the purchase money was \$200,000 to reduce the bonus to a sliding scale by 5%. There was available for advances a sum of over \$750,000,000

secured on Irish land and on the exchequer contributions to Ireland. The largest estimate of the amount necessary to purchase all saleable land in Ireland did not exceed \$500,000,000. The date of the commencement of the Act was placed at November first, so that the loan could not be floated till the winter of 1903. In view of the existing financial situation, Mr. Wyndham held that the State Grant of \$60,000,000 ought not to be put suddenly upon the estimates. The maximum charge in one year upon the estimates was never to exceed \$2,000,000. As a set-off the Irish Government agreed to make reductions in their estimates amounting in five years time to \$1,250,000 a year. The Land Commission was authorized to purchase demesnes and to resell them to landlords.

IV

On May 4 the rejection of the bill was moved on the ground that in the House of Commons sufficient attention had not been paid to the interests of the British taxpayer. The debate was distinctly favorable to the Government project, the differences of opinion being chiefly upon details to be worked out in committee. The amendment for rejection was lost by 443 votes against 26, and on May 7 the bill was read a second time. From June 17 to July 8 the bill was considered in committee during which time a number of alterations were made in the details of the scheme. The only important change was a concession made by Mr. Wyndham to gratify the Nationalists,—the withdrawal of the provision for the State's retaining a perpetual rent charge amounting to one-eighth of the annuity payable by the tenant. The bill, however, retained the clause prohibiting subdivision and subletting, or mortgaging a holding beyond ten times the purchase annuity. The bill passed its third reading in the Commons by a vote of 317 to 20, July 21. The provisions of the bill were considered in committee by the Lords early in August, and again on the third reading, August 11. Two amendments in the interests of the landlords were accepted by the Commons, one relating to sporting rights, the other providing that landlords selling their properties under the bill, and their successors should receive 25 per cent of any profits received by the Land Commission from minerals. Altogether the combined effect of the alterations in the bill by Lords and Commons was merely to put the measure in a form more calculated to induce

the landlords to sell to their tenants with a view to remaining resident in the country.

Enthusiasm ran high in both England and Ireland when the passage of the Irish Land bill was assured. The land question, which, according to Parnell, was *the* Irish question, seemed at last on the point of settlement. That achievement alone, more than one editorial declared, entitled 1903 to be called *annus mirabilis*. The few who questioned the policy of the act had no alternative policy to offer. Their attitude was expressed by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman who declared in the May debate that the people of Great Britain did not like the bill; they were being led quietly and judiciously up to it, as a shying horse is led up to the thing it hesitates to pass. When they were convinced that the bill would bring contentment and peace to Ireland they would support it. As 80,000 tenants were paying under the Purchase Acts installments to the State which were far lower than the rents paid by their neighbors, it was natural that there should be discontent. The bill, he feared, would not completely obliterate the inequality.

The London Education Act

The London Education bill was the outcome of hostility towards the Education Act passed in 1902 (see OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II), of an agitation quite apart from that of the Passive Resistance party. That act had destroyed the London School Board, excluded women from election to positions of educational authority, and failed to provide for free teaching in a body directly elected for that purpose. Sir W. Anson in introducing the new bill pointed out that the provisions of the Act of 1902 could not be applied to London. The main object of the new measure was to bring education within the functions of London's municipal institutions. It gave the London County Council the rating powers of a country borough under the Education Act, made it, in fact, the education authority for London. The relation of the Voluntary Schools to the new local authority remained the same as established by the Act of 1902. The County Council was given complete financial control. The borough councils were granted the right to appoint and dismiss teachers, the custody of buildings, the right to select sites for schools. Where a borough council proved

negligent of these duties the local authorities could step in and assume management. To assist the County Council in its educational business, the bill provided for the formation of a committee through which the Council would act. Upon this committee places for women must be found. Westminster and the City of London would be entitled to two members each on this committee and every other borough to one member. Places must be reserved for twenty-five representatives collectively from the Voluntary Schools, the University of London, and from technical institutions, and for five members from the existing school board, and for thirty-six members from the County Council itself. Altogether the committee would contain ninety-seven members, of whom sixty-six would be appointed directly or indirectly by the County Council. May 1, 1904, was the date set for inaugurating the operation of the act, which was carried through the two houses without any important amendment.

Bounty-fed Sugar Prohibited

The House of Commons had practically committed itself to the Sugar Convention bill prohibiting the import of bounty-fed sugar by its resolution of the previous year approving the policy embodied in the Convention relating to sugar, signed at Brussels on March 5, 1902 (see OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II). The main objections brought against the bill in the course of debate were that it tended to promote Germany's foreign monopoly in sugar, to put a new burden on the consumer, to pledge England to an active part in an interference with the course of trade. Mr. Winston Churchill went so far as to call it "an insidious attack on the principle of free trade, a working model for Mr. Chamberlain's greater scheme, an initial step in his policy of dear food." Mr. Chamberlain in summing up his main contentions asked the House to pass the bill, because to reject it would be to perpetrate an act of bad faith, because it would secure free trade in sugar and increase the sources of England's supply, because it protected the Empire against monopoly, and because it would repair an injustice to the West Indies. The bill was ultimately reported without amendments; it was read a third time in the Commons on August 6 by a vote of 119 to 57, and on August 10 the Lords carried it through the remaining stages by 108 to 16.

French Legislation

Five measures occupied the greater part of the sessions of the French Chambers: the bill reducing the term of military service to two years; the Education Bill abrogating the Falloux law which authorized religious teaching to a certain extent; proposals dealing with the income tax, workingmen's pensions, and the abolition of the Concordat. The proposal to take off one year of military service was regarded as a serious innovation by the military authorities, who asked that the stability of the army should be guaranteed by the formation of companies of non-commissioned officers retained in the service by undeniable advantages. Though the principle of this plan had been admitted, the Senate, after two months' deliberation, adopted a series of measures that ignored the request. In the Chamber the new army committee inclined to hasten the passing of the bill rather than retard it by the slightest correction or amendment.

France's educational bill was another move toward secularizing her schools and bringing the educational system completely under the control of the State. The terms of the measure provided for the dissolution of such congregations as existed solely to teach, and for the sequestration of their property. Congregations which, in addition to teaching, conducted hospitals, would be affected only as far as their educational activities were concerned. Five years were allowed for executing the law, inasmuch as it involved the closing of 1,299 schools for boys, 2,195 schools for girls, and all the schools of the Christian Brothers. This would be the practical outcome of abrogating the Falloux law passed in 1850, which had abolished the State monopoly of education and had given a freedom which had resulted in the creation of schools belonging to the church in the face of those of the State. The privileges in regard to both primary and secondary intermediate education granted the church by this act had been considerably curtailed by the Acts of 1880 and 1881. A majority was formed in the Chamber of Deputies to ask for the suppression of all the educational machinery of the church which had been put into operation under the Falloux law, and at the close of the summer session the Government stood pledged to introduce such a measure.

M. Chaumie, the Minister of Public Instruction, in introducing the bill, declared that Catholic priests would not be prohibited from mak-

ing a living by teaching, on condition that they consent to pass the same examinations as the masters of official education, and that their instruction be open to the investigation of the State inspectors. M. Chaumie had to defend his bill against attacks from both sides. On the one hand he successfully resisted a proposal that no intermediary school should be opened without being authorized by the Government. On the other hand, he followed the Prime Minister, M. Combes, in accepting an amendment prohibiting members of any religious order, authorized or unauthorized, from engaging in teaching. By the small majority of 147 to 136 the deputies sustained the Government in restricting the liberty of teaching.

Italy's Judicial Reforms

Italy's most noteworthy legislation was passing the measure for judiciary reform, the first change made in her judicial organization since 1808. The general aim of the bill was to simplify legal procedure, to raise the position of the judges, to completely separate the judicial system from political control. The act insured. (1) Increase of salary; (2) Reduction of the number of judges so as to increase the authority and independence of the judiciary without increasing the expenses; (3) Permanency of position; (4) Rigid rules for promotion so that the judiciary may be freed from any political influence; (5) Establishment of seniority as the almost exclusive rule for promotion, one-tenth only of the positions being reserved for appointment by choice; (6) Unification of the courts of appeal in civil matters and an absolutely independent court of appeal to be formed of the most eminent law authorities chosen from the universities, the bar, and the magistracy; (7) The creating of single judges for courts of first instance.

King Alfonso's First Cortes

King Alfonso, of Spain, opened his first Cortes on May 8. The speech from the throne, read by his youthful majesty in firm, clear tones, affirmed the fidelity of Spain to Rome. The King added that he hoped the negotiations on the status of the religious orders would shortly be settled "in harmony with the necessities of the church and the essential attribute of civil power." The Government bills which the King briefly recapitulated included the organization of a council of



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state, and measures dealing with the question of the administration of Fernando Po, the reform of municipal justice, and the penitentiary system, the organization of general obligatory military service without exemption of privileged classes, and, notably, bills for the increase of the fleet and the reform of education.

Austria's Compromise With Hungary

I

In Austria-Hungary the Compromise bill was passed, thus determining for a few more years the terms upon which Austria and Hungary would continue to exist. It was an instrument devised to allay the hostility aroused by a measure laid before the Austrian and the Hungarian Parliaments, providing for an increase in the number of recruits annually incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian army from 103,100 to 125,000 men, and increasing the Hungarian contingent from 42,711 to 53,438 men. A second bill provided for retaining 6,000 Reservists, of whom 2,565 would be allotted to Hungary. These measures, designed to maintain the common army on a basis proportionate to the increased population, were passed in the Reichsrath without the slightest opposition, though they were opposed by the Socialist element on general principles, and by the Czechs because they look upon the army as the most potent instrument in the German invasion of the country. The present army increase was one of the conditions made by Berlin when the triple alliance was renewed, a fact which does not of course make the burdens of the military establishment any easier for the Hungarians to bear.

II

In Hungary's parliament the discussion of the bill was made the occasion for violent attacks upon Austria, in which the so-called Independents and Socialists joined with equal vigor. M. Kossuth, son of the revolutionist of 1848 and leader of the Hungarian Independence party, resorted to filibustering tactics to defeat the dual system, obstructing all the bills of the Government, including those relating to the Austro-Hungarian commercial union and the new tariff, the army bills, and even the budget for 1903, so that the Government was temporarily unable to raise recruits or to levy taxes. The Szell Cabinet, finding it impossible to overcome the obstruction, resigned, and on

June 28 a new cabinet was appointed under Count Khuen Hedervary, formerly Ban of Croatia, as Prime Minister. The new cabinet proved equally unable to cope with the Kossuthites and its difficulties were increased by the charge against Count Khuen (not sustained) of attempting to bribe the obstructionist deputies.

It was very clear that concessions must be made to Hungary to enable the business of the dual Government to be carried on. The Independence party demanded that the Hungarian word of command should be adopted for the Hungarian regiments of the army, that all the Hungarian officers should be transferred to those regiments, and a number of like privileges, all tending toward the organization of an independent Hungarian army. These demands were further supported by the Nationalists under Count Apponyi, and also by the Liberals, who for thirty years had supported the Government. The Germans in Austria were the strongest opponents of these demands; they claimed since Austria contributed 65 per cent of the cost of the common army Hungary must pay in proportion if she desired an army of her own.

To make up the deficiency caused by the failure of the Hungarian Parliament to pass the bill providing for the annual contingent of recruits, the Minister of War issued a decree which in effect detained in barracks till the end of the year 1903, at least 103,000 soldiers, entitled after three years service to resume their regular pursuits. So great was the dissatisfaction of all parties with this decree that it was soon considerably modified. On September 14 Emperor Franz Joseph addressed an imperial order to the dual army which committed him to the policy of "holding fast to the existing organizations of the army," and practically refused assent to the Independents' demands. Following this refusal, the Hungarian Diet became as unmanageable as a bear garden at feeding time. Count Khuen, recently reappointed Premier, in trying to defend the Emperor's view, was met with such an uproar of protest from all sides that he was forced to resign.

III

The crisis came to an end on October 31, when the majority agreed to accept certain amendments to the program of the military party, suggested by the Emperor and approved by Count Stephen Tisza, the new Hungarian Premier. The amended measure granted nearly all the concessions demanded, including the transfer of Hungarian officers to

Hungarian regiments, the use of the Hungarian language in Hungarian military colleges, though not the use of the language in words of command and of service in the Hungarian army. In addition it reduced the period of service in the army from three years to two. The passing of this Compromise bill, while made the occasion for general rejoicing, did not have the desired effect of putting an end to obstruction. The Diet debates descended to the level of a street wrangle. The new Premier, himself, took a hand, taunting the Opposition with being "unable to make as much noise as fifty hired fishwives," while one of his opponents retorted that "the Tiszas are like chimney-sweeps, the higher they climb the blacker they get." Count Tisza held his ground in the face of obstruction and opprobrium, and on December 5 arrived at an agreement with M. Kossuth, by which the Independents abandoned obstruction on condition that double sittings should be abrogated, that immediate steps be taken for a plan for electoral reform, and that the Diet proclaim by resolution that "in Hungary the source of every right and in the army the source of rights pertaining to the language of service and command, is the will of the nation expressed through its legislature."

Sweden's Concessions to Norway

A measure to insure political concord between Norway and Sweden aroused the public interest of both countries. King Oscar, in opening the Riksdag on January 17 announced that the joint Swedish and Norwegian Committee which had been appointed to consider the question of establishing separate consuls for the two countries had completed its work and that their report was in the hands of the Swedish and Norwegian advisers of the King: M. Boström, Prime Minister, M. Lagerheim, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Husberg, Councillor of State, acting for Sweden; and M. Qvan, Minister of State, and M. Knudsen and Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, Councillors of State, on behalf of Norway. On March 24 it was announced that an agreement had been reached which seemed to satisfy Norway's demands and not to imperil the interests of Sweden. The plan called for (1) separate consular services to be established for Sweden and Norway, the consuls in each country belonging to that department decided upon by the respective governments; (2) the position of the separate consuls as regards the

foreign minister and the legations to be regulated by equal laws, which could not be changed without the mutual consent of the two countries.

This proposal was ultimately passed by both chambers of the Swedish legislature and on December 21 King Oscar, in a Council of State, formally accepted the severance of the consular system, a step viewed with alarm by the old Conservatives, who saw in it the entering wedge of the dissolution of the Union. At a previous Council of State held on December 11, the Foreign Minister had stated that the solution of the consular question demanded laws of the same character for both countries, in which it would be advisable to include various other proposals. He asked the King on this ground, and accepting the agreement of March 24, to request the Swedish and Norwegian Councillors of State to continue negotiations and to frame definite proposals. The Councillors having given consent, and the Norwegian Government having accepted both the agreement and the proposition of the Foreign Minister, the King then announced the most important political step in the joint history of Norway and Sweden for many years.

II

Proposals providing for the extension of the political suffrage of Sweden were extensively discussed both by the Riksdag and the public. The central question, concerning the suffrage proper, was still in the committee stage at the end of the year, though the commission on proportional representation submitted its report on November 3. It recommended distributing the 230 seats of the Second Chamber among thirty-three districts according to population, entirely doing away with the right of towns to a more numerous representation. It offered two different methods of election, one direct and one indirect. The program was not enthusiastically received. It was flatly repudiated by the Social Democrats in a manifesto demanding "honest universal suffrage." Of important measures passed, one established an institution for arbitration of disputes between employers and employed, the Government appointing a suitable man for each of a stated number of districts, who should attempt to reconcile the disputants whenever occasion should arise. This was the first labor legislation since the great strike of the previous year. Another new law required everybody cutting down a forest to plant a new forest in its place, thus protecting the diminishing forests of Sweden.

Denmark's New Laws

Denmark made a record in legislation in 1903. Altogether eighty-seven bills were introduced in the course of the two sessions of the Rigsdag, of which sixty-seven were passed. Of most general interest were the Church Laws and the Taxation Laws. The provisions of the four church bills, looking toward abler administration of the State Church, are reserved for full discussion in the chapter devoted exclusively to religious affairs. The measures were carried by large majorities. The three Taxation Bills dealt respectively with State taxes on income and capital, taxation of property, and municipal taxation. The income tax was graded on a sliding scale, from 1.3 to 2.5 per cent, with certain deductions for children. The taxation on capital was applied to all values except furniture, books, and the like. The new law on property abolished the old taxes on real estate, and substituted a property tax of 1.1 per thousand of the commercial value of the property. The income tax was expected to yield \$2,500,000 a year; the new property tax, about \$1,000,000, or less than one-third the amount collected under the old law. The abolition of tithes entailed a further loss to the Exchequer of about \$400,000. The State grant to municipalities was fixed at \$375,000 a year.

Among other important measures passed were bills providing for increasing the remuneration of the members of the Rigsdag, for building a large new national hospital, a national theater, for establishing higher national schools, and for rebuilding the royal palace of Christiansborg, destroyed by fire twenty years before. During the year Iceland obtained a new constitution, which granted her contention for her own separate minister to reside at Reykjavik, who would lay before the King of Denmark, in the Council of State, acts passed by the Icelandic Parliament, the Althing.

Labor Legislation

Belgium's greatest parliamentary work was the passing of a law granting workmen the right of compensation for damages resulting from accidents. The bill provided for all risks except illness; it allowed a partial indemnity, not amounting to full wages; it was not obligatory insurance. The new Minister of Industry, M. Francotte, in introducing the bill, stated that in a free country like Belgium the payment of

indemnity to the victim of an accident could be obtained without compulsion. The Socialist and the majority of the Liberal Deputies demanded compulsory insurance and extending the benefits of the measure to agricultural laborers. The bill as passed repudiated the first demand, though it favored a special law granting the second.

Germany's new law for the restriction of child labor prohibited employing children under thirteen years of age in building operations, brick kilns, quarries and mines; children under twelve years of age in theaters, workshops, or restaurants; children under ten in distributing goods. In certain cases parents were allowed to employ their own children while still under the age limit. The Social Democrats urged a provision against employing children in agriculture and domestic service, on the ground that children were frequently made to remedy the dearth of farm laborers, and the measure was passed with this addition. Supplementary legislation to the Workingmen's Insurance Acts of 1883 and 1889 extended the obligatory care for the sick from 13 to 26 weeks, thereby assuring provision for protracted or chronic diseases. France also revised a law in July providing for the health and security of workmen, enlarging the scope of the Act of 1893, which was limited to employees of factories, shops, workyards and workrooms, to include those of kitchens, laboratories, cellars, offices, theaters, circuses, and other places of amusement.

On April 11 the Queen of Holland sanctioned three anti-strike bills, which had passed both chambers and which immediately went into force. The measures called for (1) modifications of the penal code assigning severer penalties to those attacking the freedom of labor and punishing as misdemeanors strikes by railway employees or other persons in public service; (2) an increase of the war budget in order to enable a railway military brigade to be organized on a basis that would insure service on the great lines in case of strike; (3) the establishment of a commission of inquiry to examine the demands of railway employees. A similar law was passed in Victoria, imposing fines and penalties on public servants who engage in strikes.

Canada enacted a Railway Labor Disputes law establishing a system of compulsory investigation into all disputes between labor and capital affecting the transportation industry, and providing for settling the same by conciliation or arbitration.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL CHANGES

Politically the year 1903 was what is known as an "off year" in the United States, a year in which there is neither a presidential nor a general election. It was, nevertheless, a decisive year for both parties; the Republicans took their stand upon Rooseveltism, the Democrats repudiated Bryanism. The rising tide of the President's popularity could not be stemmed by criticism of certain phases of his administration, noted in a previous chapter. The man had risen above party lines, party prejudices, party issues. His tour of the country had been well timed to show the political "bosses" that the average Republican voter was with him. President Butler, of Columbia University, who traveled with the Presidential party through some of the western states, had this to say of President Roosevelt's standing: "The west is solid for Roosevelt. The business men, large and small, the wage workers and agriculturists, all seem to have implicit confidence in him. They look to him and his administration to keep public matters on an even keel, both at home and abroad. Any one who tries to get up agitation on the lines of anti-imperialism, or of indiscriminate tariff smashing, or of attacking the army, will have his trouble for his pains."

The endorsement of the President and his administration by the State Republican Convention of Ohio was a decisive victory. Senator Hanna, while declaring himself not a candidate for Presidential nomination, gave out the statement that it would not be "entirely proper for the convention to assume the prerogative of naming the one to be chosen in 1904." President Roosevelt promptly made a definite request of Senator Hanna not to oppose any desire of the convention to commit itself to the renomination of the President, upon which the senator withdrew from his former position. The Ohio Convention having committed itself to President Roosevelt, a sufficient number of other

Republican state conventions followed suit to insure his nomination by the national convention, and the Republican party enjoyed the strong tactical advantage of being free from factional disturbances and able to devote its every energy to preparing for the election of a candidate practically chosen by the rank and file of the party.

Leading Democrats made a strong effort to gather the somewhat scattered forces of the old party in order to present a good fighting front to Republicanism, or rather Rooseveltism, in 1904. The opinion was widely expressed that Mr. Cleveland was the only man who could lead his party to victory. All hope that had been nailed to his name was dashed to the ground by the announcement of his "unalterable and conclusive determination" not to become his party's nominee. At the end of the year the Democrats were still seeking a candidate. From the tenor of the state conventions, it was clear that the discordant elements in the party would not unite on Mr. Bryan. Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, and Mr. Richard Olney, of Boston, were regarded with favor by the "gold Democrats." While the party as a whole might be characterized as a mass of unrelated prejudices, the conservative members in all sections stood together on the following principles: (1) A moderate tariff for revenue, without prejudice to domestic industries. (2) A sound currency. (3) Moderation in public expenditures. (4) The restriction of the Federal Government to its legitimate functions, and opposition to the further extension of its powers over the acts and industries of the people of the United States. When it became evident that the gold wing of the Democratic party was likely to dominate, the People's Party announced its decision never again to join hands with any other party, but to have its own candidates for President and Vice-President in 1904.

State Elections

Full state tickets were voted on in seven states in November, and in several others elections for minor offices were held. The Ohio election resulted in the choice of Mr. Myron T. Herrick for Governor, in opposition to Mr. Tom L. Johnson. The contest in this state was really between Johnson and Senator Hanna, the principal desire of the Democrats being to elect a legislature which would refuse to return Mr. Hanna to the Senate. This effort was defeated as decisively as were



GOV. JOSEPH W. FOLK OF MISSOURI



GOV. W. T. DURBIN OF INDIANA

1000

1000

Mr. Johnson's ambitions for Governor. The Democratic platform, moreover, had adhered to the principles of the Kansas City platform in condemning colonialism and imperialism, denouncing trusts, repudiating government by injunction, and opposing monopolies and special privileges. The conservative members of the party, having burned their fingers playing with populism and socialism for several years past, doubtless joined with the Republicans in helping to bury Johnsonism under a big Republican majority. In Maryland, as in Ohio, the contest for the Governorship was obscured by the struggle for the control of the Legislature. The Democrats sought to make the race issue the most prominent feature of the campaign, and in choosing this issue Mr. Gorman undoubtedly scored, since the Democratic candidate, Mr. Edwin Warfield, gained a substantial victory over his Republican opponent. Massachusetts elected a Republican Governor in the person of Mr. John L. Bates after a campaign devoted largely to undignified personalities and mud slinging. Iowa elected a Republican Governor. Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi elected Democratic tickets, while Rhode Island elected Governor Garvin, a Democrat, by a very small plurality. Colorado and Nebraska scored Republican victories for minor State officials, while in New York and New Jersey the Republicans retained and increased their hold on the Legislature. In round numbers the pluralities in the different states were as follows:

Ohio (Republican).....	115,000
Maryland (Democratic).....	12,887
Pennsylvania (Republican).....	280,471
Massachusetts (Republican).....	35,372
Iowa (Republican).....	80,802
Kentucky (Democratic).....	30,408
Rhode Island (Democratic).....	1,587
Nebraska (Republican).....	9,000
Colorado (Republican).....	10,000

Municipal Campaigns

I

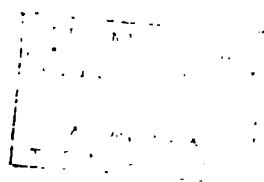
New York's municipal campaign centered the attention of the whole country for months. Tammany put forward its most strenuous efforts to regain control of the City, lost when Mayor Low, the candidate of

the Citizens' Union and the Republican parties, was elected two years previous. The campaign resulted in a sweeping victory for Tammany, headed by Mr. George B. McClellan, whose plurality for Mayor was twice that given to Mr. Low when he was elected. The explanations for Tammany's triumph were many. It was attributed variously to "the German voter who puts his dear privilege of guzzling beer all day Sunday above every other consideration;" to the "silly dislike of Mr. Low because he was not magnetic;" to the revival of party feeling among Democrats, and to Mr. Jerome's attitude toward Mr. Low; to weariness on the part of a large army of grafters of the restraints of good and orderly government. The intolerant Mr. Jerome had denounced with bitter scorn the Republican party, the Citizens' Union, and every other fusion factor for permitting the re-nomination of Mr. Low, yet, during the campaign, he took the field and fought vigorously for the man whom he had denounced. Herman Ridder led his famous "Ridderbund" the German-American Reform Association, forty thousand strong for the Democratic candidate. Tammany invaded Fusion's ranks, and carried away some of its ammunition in the person of Comptroller Grout and President Fornes, of the Board of Aldermen. The old issues were no longer at the front. There was no towering rage of righteousness to sweep away evil that was flaunted everywhere, for many evils had already been swept away. The keynote of the campaign was graft, and the Fusionists made their fight to keep the grafters out. The outcome of the election caused great rejoicing among Democrats throughout the country.

Mr. McClellan, as a minor official of the Brooklyn Bridge Commission, as presiding officer of the Board of Aldermen, and as representative in Congress since 1897, had a clean, but colorless record, and the real leaders of Tammany were Boss Murphy, "Pat" McCarren and such district leaders as James Martin, Timothy Sullivan, Patrick Keenan, William Dalton and others who have grown from heelers and henchmen to positions of power and independence. Mr. McClellan, the son of General George B. McClellan, was born while his parents were travelling in Germany in 1865. After graduating at Princeton in 1886, he did a little newspaper work, studied law, and eventually became a protege of Mr. Richard Croker, who made him President of New York's Board of Aldermen in 1894. He was elected to Congress



MAYOR GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN OF NEW YORK



for five consecutive terms in a district of New York City which always gives an overwhelming Tammany majority.

II

Four municipal elections held in April aroused considerable interest, the contests in Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland and St. Louis. In Chicago Mayor Harrison, running for the fourth time on the Democratic ticket, was elected, though by a largely reduced plurality. Mr. Harrison was attacked by his opponents on the ground that he was elected three times on the pledge to settle the city's traction problem, but failed each time to carry out this pledge. Both parties were pledged to legislation, empowering the city to own and operate its street railways. The smallness of Mayor Harrison's plurality could hardly be claimed as a vindication of his do-nothing policy by the voters. In Ohio the Toledo election was one of the most remarkable municipal contests ever fought in this country. Mayor "Goldenrule" Jones running against strong nominees by the regular parties, and without regular organization, and wholly lacking newspaper support, polled a vote almost equal to the total received by all of his opponents. In Cleveland, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, re-nominated by the Democrats on his old platform of lower railway fares, secured an easy victory over the Republican candidate. In Cincinnati, the Citizens' ticket, headed by President Ingalls of the Big Four Railway, was supported by the Democrats who attacked the Republican candidate, Mayor Julius Fleischmann, on the ground that he was the head of a great brewery and an exponent of the liquor interests. Mayor Fleischmann was, however, re-elected by a substantial plurality. In St. Louis, the fight was made for the control of the Municipal Council, resulting in a Democratic victory.

III

In Indianapolis, the election for Mayor held in October was hailed as a new victory for non-partisan municipal government. The Democratic candidate, John W. Holtsman, had the support of the good government forces, represented by the Citizens' League, and also received the votes of many Republicans. His plurality over Bookwalter, the Republican machine candidate, though small, meant the overturning of the normal Republican majority of four thousand in Indianapolis. Mr. Holtsman had none of the sources from which

campaign funds usually come, and his election proved that the people can win even against a tremendous campaign fund; proved, moreover, that the citizens of any municipality can insist upon decency in its administration if they will but take the trouble to challenge and battle with the evil elements that do steadily rise to the top under partisan government. The success of the Citizens' Union in New York, the Citizens' League in Indianapolis, and similar organizations in other places proves, not only their need and opportunity, but also the cordiality with which all good citizens support them when good government is imperilled.

New Senators

I

In January twelve state legislatures elected United States Senators. In Utah, Apostle Reed Smoot, a Mormon candidate, was elected Senator, receiving forty-six votes out of a total of sixty-three. This election was regarded as an injudicious defiance of the moral sentiment of the United States in general, and of an explicit statement from President Roosevelt in which he said: "The election to the United States Senate of an Apostle would work great harm to the State. It would be very unwise. It would lead to contentions and bitterness and strife here, if not in Utah, and would unquestionably be a misfortune to all that goes to make the State of Utah prosperous and great. I desire you to place me on record as kindly, but firmly, advising against the election of any Apostle to a United States Senatorship." The objection to Mr. Smoot was not to his personal character or conduct, but to his professional status of a high dignitary of the Mormon Church.

Other new comers to the Senate were Mr. Chester I. Long, elected by the Kansas Legislature, and Mr. James P. Clark, who succeeded Senator James K. Jones, of Arkansas; Mr. Albert J. Hopkins to succeed Senator William E. Mason, of Illinois, and Mr. William J. Stone, three times Governor of Missouri, elected to succeed Senator Vest. Senators who were re-elected were: Senators Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana; A. B. Kittridge, of South Dakota; Henry Hansbrough from North Dakota; O. H. Platt from Connecticut; Thomas C. Platt from New York, and Boies Penrose from Pennsylvania. The

Senate at the beginning of the fifty-eighth session of Congress numbered 53 Republicans and 33 Democrats.

II

Delaware's long senatorial struggle, which had kept the state from representation in the Senate for so many years, came to an end on March 2 with the election of one Addicks Republican, Mr. J. Frank Allee, for the long term expiring in 1907, and one "Regular" Republican, Mr. L. Heisler Ball for the short term, expiring March 4, 1905. Mr. John Edward Addicks, on February 5 announced his withdrawal from the contest he had waged with dishonor for fourteen years, on condition that ten "Regulars" unite with ten Addicks Republicans for the purpose of electing one Senator from each faction. Mr. Addicks had awakened to the fact that the votes of some of his lieutenants were no longer at his disposal. He could gain more by compromising on the election of one of his ablest henchmen than by persisting in his "Addicks or nobody" policy until routed by the imminent union of the "Regular" Republicans and the Democrats. So far from retiring from politics or giving up the attempt to buy a seat in the Senate, Mr. Addicks is said to have threatened: "With Mr. Allee in the Senate we will be able to get rid of the traitors in the camp, such as post-masters throughout the state, and fill their places with our own men. We will also get rid of all the bolters, and two years from now, in full control of the state, I will elect a legislature which will send me to the Senate."

A similar deadlock in the Colorado legislature was broken by the election of Senator Henry M. Teller. Here the war waged between the supporters and the opponents of ex-Senator Wolcott reached such a pitch that both factions were barred out of the legislative hall, and guards to the number of fifty were patrolling the building. Ex-Senator Wolcott was forced to acknowledge the legality of Senator Teller's election, though he was accused of Addicksizing Colorado. The leaders and speakers of his party pledged to the people that Wolcott had been retired, yet almost the day after election he returned to the State headquarters and attempted to brush aside the men who had led the party fight. A Denver newspaper, which had once denounced him, became his mouthpiece in return for a cash consideration. A band of seventy-five entertainers were brought to the city during

the legislative session and other serious charges and countercharges were made in the press at the time.

Change in the War Department

I

An important change in the Cabinet was Secretary Root's resignation from the War Department, and the appointment of William H. Taft, of the Philippines, to succeed Mr. Root. Mr. Root's resignation was sincerely regretted, since he had proved himself one of the ablest Secretaries of War, though the appointment of Governor Taft gave universal satisfaction. Mr. Root entered the War Department at the moment when it was under a popular ban. The country believed that the executive and supply organization of the army were in a deplorable condition, and there was some basis for this prevalent belief. The first thing Mr. Root did was to concentrate his mind upon the task of finding out what sort of a machine he had to run. Within a few weeks he was able to put his finger on the weak spot in the War Department in the organization of the army. It was a case of every man for himself and of every man trying to lift himself by pulling some one else down. Mr. Root soon grappled with the situation. He took an interest in the work of each chief, and bitter rivals were surprised at finding themselves brought together by the Secretary. He believed that for self-protection and for the good of the service there was nothing to do but to take the power out of General Miles's hands. This he did calmly, quickly and resolutely, and not only was the War Department itself regenerated but the army was provided with an organization adequate for all purposes.

II

General Miles's retirement on having reached the age limit of sixty-four years marked the passing from the stage of active service of a conspicuous military figure, and what was of greater consequence, it marked the end of the old regime. It signaled the abandonment of an outworn and obsolete army system. It was the last step toward newer models and administration, toward genuine and lasting military reform. The retiring commander won in the war of the Rebellion distinctions shared by few officers of his age or opportunity. His Indian campaigns enhanced his reputation, and carried him to the

front in an army sent to keep the peace on our Western frontiers. General Miles allowed himself to drift into an attitude of opposition unsoldierly and insubordinate. He did not give the civilian heads of the War Department the loyal coöperation and service which they had reason to expect. He thus sacrificed his legitimate authority in army administration and threw away all chance of influencing the practical remaking which the army was compelled to undergo in order to become an effective organization.

Political Parties in England

I

"Piquant and paradoxical" was Mr. John Morley's characterization of the English political situation in 1903. Mr. Morley further declared that so far as he knew there had never been a more interesting moment in modern parliamentary history. The Liberal Party was in a state that threatened disruption, a split having been caused by the Boer War. There were Liberals like Lord Rosebery who were thoroughgoing Imperialists, who had renounced the Gladstone reform of Home Rule. On the other hand, the bulk of the official Liberals were still clinging to Little Englandism and the old policies. A spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt had found a vigorous expression in the new fourth party, a political off-shoot that might be compared with the supporters of the Iowa idea among the Republicans of the United States. They called themselves "The Group of New Tories." Their aim was to give the Conservative party a new impulse toward efficiency and practicality. Some of them had made a particular study of questions like the housing of the working classes, and other municipal problems. Others were interested in fiscal reform, commercial and industrial regulation. All were active, earnest Conservatives, each contributing his quota to a broad policy of progress and reform. The rallying point which formed the nucleus of the Group of New Tories was Mr. Brodrick's army scheme. They found themselves at one in condemning it as extravagant, inefficient, and unsuited to the national needs. They found themselves drawn more and more closely together on the basis of common opposition to Mr. Brodrick's six army corps, and from constant association in intercourse followed the knowledge that they were at one on other points of social, fiscal, and economic.

II

At the beginning of January, 1904, the Liberals had gained nine seats and lost one. The Conservatives had gained one. The Nationalists one, and there were four vacancies. The House of Commons was composed of 387 Conservatives, 194 Liberals, 68 Liberal-Unionists and 83 Nationalists. Mr. Chamberlain's protectionist program had not only thinned the Unionist ranks, it had provided a rallying cry for the Liberal forces whose unprecedented activity at the polls pointed to a general awakening. One electoral event furnished food for reflection to the older parties. A labor candidate was returned as member for Woolwich by a majority of 3,229 over the Conservative candidate in a steadily Unionist constituency, which had been held at the previous election by a majority of 2,805. This was one of a series of indications that labor might have to be reckoned with as an organized force in English politics. A National Labor Representation Committee had already been formed to promote labor representation in the House of Commons.

British Cabinet Changes

I

Fiscal reform was the rock on which the British cabinet split. On Friday, September 18, the morning newspapers announced simultaneously the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie. On the same day the publication of letters which had passed between the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary enlightened the public as to Mr. Chamberlain's reasons for taking this step. In the course of his letter to Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain said: "When you, in replying to the deputation on the corn tax and I in addressing my constituents at Birmingham, called attention to the changes that had taken place in our commercial position during the last fifty years, and suggested an inquiry into the subject, I do not think that either of us intended to provoke a purely party controversy. We raised, now for the first time, a question of the greatest national and imperial importance in the hope that it would be discussed with certain impartiality by both friends and opponents, and that the inquiry thus initiated might lead to conclusions accepted by a majority of the people of this country, and represented accordingly in the results of the

next general election. Whether our view was liberal or not, it was certainly not shared by the leaders of the Liberal party. From the first they scouted the idea that a system which was generally accepted in 1846 could possibly require any modification in 1903, and the whole resources of the party organization were brought into play against any attempt even to inquire into the foundation of our existing fiscal policy. Owing to admitted differences of opinion in the Unionist party, the political organizations of the party were paralyzed and our opponents have had full possession of the field. . . . I stand in a different position to that of any of my colleagues, and I think I should justly be blamed if I remained in office and thus formally accepted exclusion from my political program of so important a part of it. I think that, with absolute loyalty to your Government and its general policy, and with no fear of embarrassing it in any way, I can best promote the cause I have at heart from the outside, and I cannot but hope that a perfectly independent position in my arguments would be received with less prejudice than would attach to those of a party leader. Accordingly, I suggest that you should limit the present policy of the Government to ascertaining our freedom in the case of all commercial relations with foreign countries, and that you agree to my tendering my resignation of my present office to His Majesty, and devoting myself to the work of popularizing those principles of Imperial union which my experience has convinced me are essential to our future welfare and prosperity."

Mr. Balfour's reply expressed regret at Mr. Chamberlain's determination, adding, "If there **has** ever been any difference between us in connection with this matter it has only been with regard to the practicability of the proposal which would seem to require on the part of the colonies a limitation in all-round development of a protective policy, and, on the part of this country the establishment of a preference in favor of colonial products." Mr. Balfour concluded with the statement that, "The loss to the Government is indeed great, but the gain to the cause you have at heart may be greater still." The public was thus warned that Mr. Chamberlain had retired only because he could thereby best promote his fiscal schemes, though the letters of resignation were generally interpreted as the announcement of a cabinet split on the rock of free trade.

II

In letters to the Prime Minister both Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton assigned their objections to Mr. Chamberlain's projects as among their reasons for resigning. On October 2, Mr. Balfour announced that he had accomplished the difficult task of the reconstruction of his ministry. Mr. Austen Chamberlain was advanced from Postmaster-General to the high position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Brodrick was transferred to the India office and succeeded at the War Office by Mr. Arnold-Forster who had been secretary to the Admiralty since 1900. Lord Stanley was made Postmaster-General. Mr. Graham Murray, Lord Advocate, was made Secretary for Scotland. Mr. Balfour, being unsuccessful in his efforts to persuade Lord Milner to leave South Africa in order to take Mr. Chamberlain's place, selected Mr. Alfred Lyttleton to take charge of the Colonial office. Mr. Lyttleton was favorably regarded in South Africa where he had presided over a commission dealing with the commercial concessions granted by the Transvaal government before the war.

III

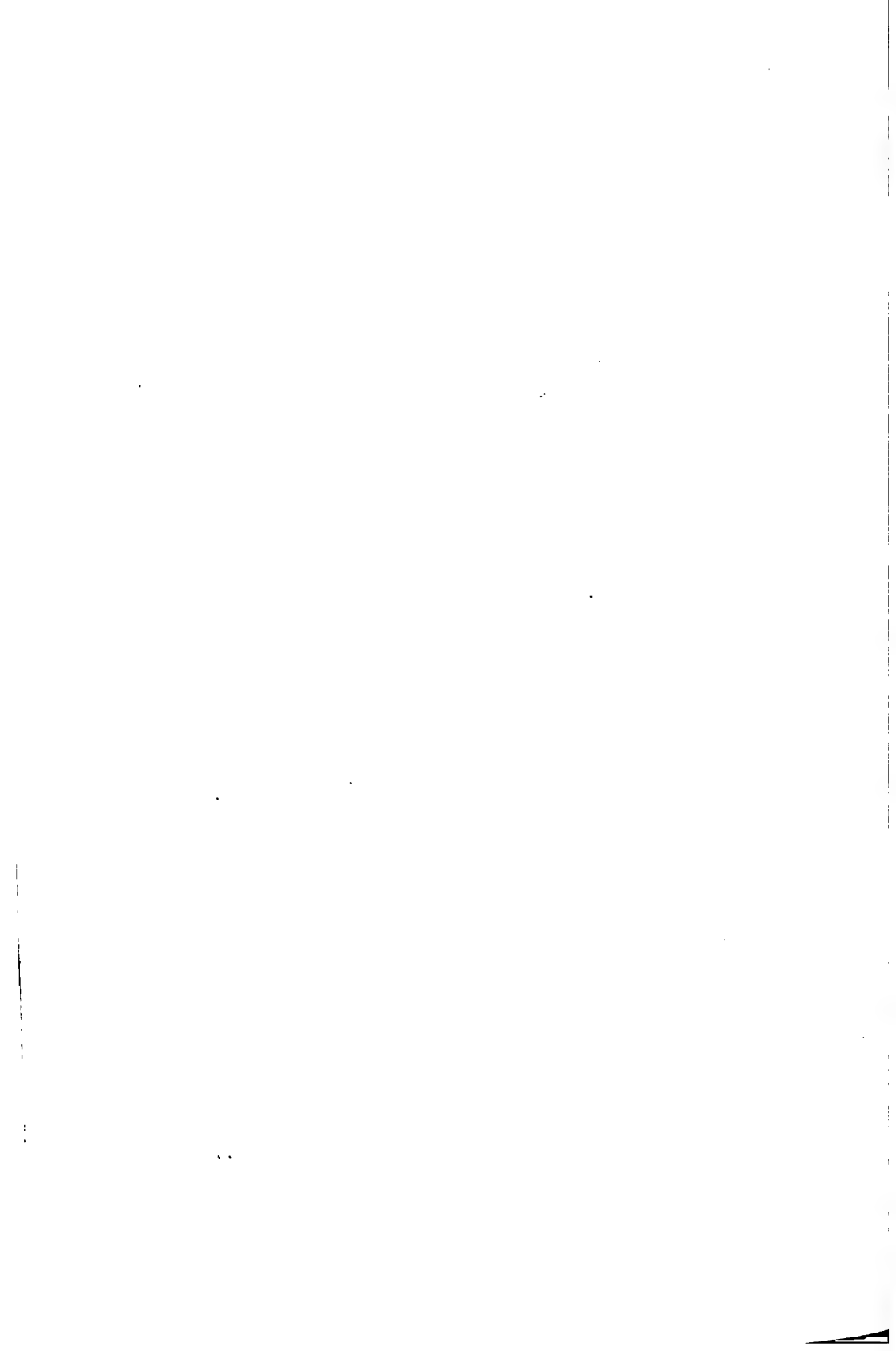
On October 6, the same day on which the new appointments were announced, the news was published that the Duke of Devonshire had left the ministry. The letter tendering his resignation attributed his action to the general tone and tendency of Mr. Balfour's speech at Sheffield recorded in Chapter I. The Duke had hoped for an explicit declaration of adherence to the principles of free trade, and the absence of such declaration made it impossible for him to be a satisfactory exponent of the Prime Minister's views in the debates which must inevitably take place in the next session. He concluded with an expression of deep regret and of anxiety at the split in the Unionist Party which must result from the "unexpected scope and strength" of Mr. Balfour's declarations at Sheffield.

Mr. Balfour in reply said that so far from the Sheffield speech making for party division, it had produced greater harmony than had prevailed since the fiscal question had come to the front. Mr. Balfour complained that the Duke's withdrawal from the Government at any time would have been a serious loss, but that he had left it when its fortunes were at the lowest, and its perplexities at their greatest.



AUGUST BEBEL

JEAN JAURES



Death of Lord Salisbury

In 1903 England lost her most renowned politician in the death of the Marquis of Salisbury. "The end of an epoch" were words fittingly applied to that life which ended as it began in the historic mansion of Hatfield. A great personality which counted for much in the English history of the last half century past away. Lord Salisbury was four times Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, three times Prime Minister of Great Britain, besides holding many other offices of influence and importance. His first great work was the treaty of Berlin and the "Peace with honor," of which he was the virtual author when he was a member of Disraeli's Cabinet as Foreign Minister. As leader of the Conservative party he did much to form and cement that Unionist coalition which has since grown into a compact constitutional party. A series of parliamentary acts, dealing with education, local government, land purchase, railroad extension, naval progress, factory regulation, and workingmen's compensation amply demonstrated the ability of the Salisbury government for constructive legislation. It was as Foreign Minister that most of his best work was done. It fell to his lot to deal more than once with the complicated Chinese question; with French rivalries in various parts of Africa and in Asia; with German antagonists in Africa and in the islands of the Sea; with Venezuela and the United States' championship of that State, and with foreign relationships involving the issues of peace and war in almost every part of the globe touched by the British Empire.

Socialist Triumphs in Germany

I

Changes in the political opinion of the German Empire were noted in the results of the German election. The most notable thing was the great gain of the Socialists, and bound up with the Socialist victory was the fact that the nation had condemned the recent tariff policy of the Government on which the Socialists had fought their campaign, against an Agrarian group of landowners. The main result of the elections, so far as immediate political issues were concerned, was the country's distinct disapproval of the high protective and agrarian policy inaugurated at the instigation of the manorial Lords of Eastern Prussia and of their political allies by Count von Bülow, the Imperial

Chancellor. The country's disapproval extended also to the new tariff law, the provisions of which discriminated severely against American imports of every kind. The measure thus condemned discriminated sharply against American exports.

The legislative period of a newly elected Reichstag is five years in duration, and it is interesting to note the changed party complexions of the Reichstag from 1903 to 1908 as compared with that of 1898 to 1903. Its 397 seats were distributed as follows: Conservative Right 73; Catholic Center 102; Social Democrats 81; National Liberals 50; Radical Left 30; Poles 16; various small parties 45. The Socialists won twenty-five seats. Nearly every other faction or party lost, the Center four seats, the Conservatives five, the National Liberals five, the Radicals fourteen. The Poles won two seats in addition to their fourteen owing to the fierce race strife going on for some years past in the Polish provinces of Prussia. The smaller groups included the anti-Semites, nine; the protesting Alsatians, nine; the Danish, one; the Guelphs, three, and the Independents, representing every remaining shade of political opinion, eleven. Since these small groups not infrequently on a close vote hold the balance of power, they are not undervalued in practical politics.

Numerically the Socialists' triumph represented an increase of over 1,000,000 in five years. In Berlin the seats were won by Socialists except one which fell to a Radical. At Leipsic, the pan-German leader, Dr. Hasse, was defeated by a Socialist with a majority of 3,000, and in Saxony generally, all the members returned were Socialists. Owing to the system of distribution of seats which favors the agricultural at the expense of the manufacturing constituencies, every Socialist member in Germany represents on an average 49,042 electors; every Conservative member 24,781; every member of the Center party 28,362, and every National Liberal 30,483. The astonishing feature of the increase in the Socialist party was the kind of converts it had made. The Conservative member, Reichbote, in analyzing the social democracy of a single country district, declared it to be made up of "Men who are faithful and devout church-goers; men who live happy and harmonious lives and who would not hurt a fly; men who are in positions of independence, who can earn in a humble way their daily bread as the fruit of their toil on their little plot of land

— in short, people whom one would never suspect of holding Socialistic views.” In the general election for the Prussian parliament, which took place in November, the Socialists notwithstanding their successes in the German parliament, did not gain a single seat, the reason doubtless being that members of the Prussian parliament are still elected on the old system of class representation which virtually excludes the poorest classes from the suffrage.

II

At the annual congress of the Socialist party held at Dresden on September 13, a heated discussion took place between the two wings of the Socialist party on the question as to whether the vice-presidency of the Reichstag should be accepted by a Socialist. The old school, represented by Herr Bebel, maintained that the Socialists should oppose all other parties under all circumstances, and not accept any official post whatsoever, while the new school, or the Revisionists, urged that the Socialists should not refuse alliance with other parties. Herr Bebel of Hamburg, is said to be the greatest parliamentary orator in Germany, and the most convincing speaker of the Reichstag. He rules his followers with a strong hand, though they claim he is not a demagogue. The poverty and suffering of his early years made a Socialist of him. He found that even in full health and strength it was hard to provide for his family, and when sickness came upon him, he had to turn them out to beg or see them starve. Hard work, scant rations, and the inevitable choice between charity or starvation, drove him to the belief that the world was out of joint, and he joined the Socialist party hoping to set it right. He speedily developed extraordinary power, not only as a speaker, but as an organizer, and it is largely due to his efforts that the Social Democrats in 1903 were looked upon as the best organized and best disciplined party in the Reichstag.

Italy's Ministerial Crises

At the beginning of 1903 the stability of the Italian Ministry seemed assured for a long period. Its leader, the veteran Sgr. Zanardelli, ruled with authority as President of the Council. Sgr. Broglio was considered the ablest and most successful State financier. Sgr. Prinetti had a reputation for ability and energy which seemed to indicate the opening of a striking career, Sgr. Giolitti, Minister of

the Interior, had succeeded in re-establishing himself in the political world after his fiasco of 1894. This apparently solid combination was soon shattered. At the beginning of the year Sgr. Broglio declared that he was unable to carry on his duties, and Sgr. Prinetti, apparently in full vigor, was stricken down by an apoplectic seizure. Thus the Ministry was disabled at the very moment when the question of divorce united against it all the Conservative forces of the country.

I

Signor Prinetti's resignation from the Foreign Office made a change in the Italian Ministry that greatly weakened the situation of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister, Signor Zanardelli was compelled to so arrange matters as not to lose the support of Prinetti's followers, while at the same time opposing his general policy. The Socialist group which sustained the ministry was greatly disturbed because of the new move, and the Socialist group decided to go over to the opposition, and to separate completely from the Liberals and Radicals. This was a decision of great importance, irretrievably compromising the ministry, since the Liberal Cabinet did not command a real majority in the Chamber, but was obliged to look for support sometimes to the Left and sometimes to the Center in order to exist. Two years of Liberal government had completely modified the political views of Italy, and it rendered impossible a return to the regime established by General Pelloux. The action of the Liberal government had also destroyed the opposition to the Monarchy carried on by Republicans, Radicals and the left wing of the Liberal party. There was full recognition of the fact that King Victor Emanuel III. cherished the most liberal ideas, and was content to be a constitutional sovereign leaving every possible liberty of action to his ministers and to parliament, so that the economic betterment of the nation might therefore be assured.

II

On June 17 a Ministerial crisis occurred. Admiral Bettolo who succeeded Admiral Morin when the latter took Sgr. Prinetti's portfolio of foreign affairs, and Sgr. Giolitti separated themselves from their colleagues at the same time the President of the Council tendered his resignation, though the King would not receive it. On June 25 an incomplete Ministry appeared before parliament. Sgr. Zanardelli had temporarily taken the portfolio of the Interior, Admiral Morin under



SIGNOR GIUSEPPE ZANARDELLI

taking the navy. The Right and the Center declared against the Government. The extreme Left declared for it, and Sgr. Zanardelli obtained a majority of 81 votes, his last parliamentary laurels. The Italian Chamber of Deputies for 1903 was composed of 160 members representing the Right or Moderates, under the leadership of Marquis de Rudini, and Sidney Sonino; 250 members representing the Left, or Progressives under the leadership of Zanardelli and Giolitti; 100 members representing the extreme Left or Radical-Socialists, under the leadership of Sgrs. Sacchi, Turati, and Marcora.

III

The dissolution of the Zanardelli Cabinet was inevitable, and it was generally admitted that while the social and political reforms it had sought to accomplish had not been carried to completion the country was in a far better state than when Zanardelli took office. The withdrawal of the Socialists into systematic opposition was attributed to the fact that a liberal regime left them without cause for a reasonable complaint. Zanardelli, however, upon their withdrawal was unable to reconstruct a cabinet from the material at his disposal. After several attempts at reconstruction it was decided to leave the ministry as formerly constituted with the exception of Giolitti, Minister of the Interior, and Admiral Bettolo, Minister of the Marines, against whom serious charges had been brought. The Zanardelli Ministry remained in power for the reason that it was the only possible one at the time since no parliamentary group commanded a majority. The large majority of eighty-six, obtained by the Cabinet in a vote of confidence on the part of the Chamber, was construed to mean that the parliamentary groups were willing to give the Premier time to set his house in order.

In August Sgr. Zanardelli resigned the Premiership, and his subsequent death in December was sufficient proof that ill-health was the actual, and not the nominal cause of his resignation. He had served the State to the best of his great ability for fully half a century. He had held office under Depretis, Carioli and Crispi before he himself became the head of the government in 1901. His ministry had sought with much success to reform certain social abuses, among which agricultural and business depression, and excessive taxation were the most serious. The prevalence of the spirit of reform in Italy could be traced to his influence. Reform of the methods of caring for the

poor, prison reform, reform of the army, and postal reform were some of the movements agitated in various parts of Italy during his regime.

IV

After twenty months of honorable existence, the Zanardelli ministry came to an end, and on November 30 composition of a new ministry was announced with Sgr. Giolitti, President of the Council and also Minister of the Interior; Tomas Tittoni, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the great financier, Luigi Luxatti, in charge of the Treasury; Pietro Rosini, of the Department of Finance; General E. Pedotti, Minister of War; Rear Admiral Marabello, Minister of the Navy; Professor Luigi Rava, Minister of Agriculture, and Sgr. Raletti, Minister of Justice, Pardons and Religion. There were rocks ahead of the new ministry whose policy was frankly stated by Signor Giolitti, the new Premier, on opening parliament in December. After paying a tribute of admiration and respect to his predecessor, Signor Giolitti declared that he would pursue a policy liberal in every sense of the word. He urged upon the attention of the chamber treaties of commerce, the diminution of the burden of public debt, the urgent necessity of improving the economic position of Southern Italy, the State control of railways, the elevation of the standard of education. To carry out this program, the Premier found on a test vote that he commanded a majority of over 150, a substantial backing indicating that the Liberal party was ready to follow the most progressive democratic reforms. The ministry was not able to proceed, however, without avowed resistance on the part of the Socialists, who resorted to vehement and unprincipled agitation against the composition of the cabinet. The most unfortunate aspect of the case was that the Socialist press broke out in invective against Sgr. Rosini, of the Department of Finance, accusing him of having accepted a bribe, and the next day the minister was found dead in his room. His suicide so discouraged Sgr. Giolitti that he offered his resignation to the King, which offer was promptly refused, and after a few days the Prime Minister resolved to meet the Chamber.

Russia Promotes M. Witte

Rivalry between M. Witte and M. Plehve, who were constantly encroaching upon one another's ministerial grounds, made a change in the Russian ministry advisable. The death of M. Durnovo, the

President of the Committee of Ministers, afforded the opportunity of removing M. Witte from the Foreign Department, and at the same time giving him promotion. He was appointed to the vacant Presidency on August 20, and was succeeded as Minister of Finance by M. Pleske, manager of the Imperial Bank, and one of M. Witte's principal assistants. The appointment of M. Witte to be President of the Committee of Ministers to Russia was accepted generally as meaning a victory for him in the long war he had waged with the reactionary element in the government of Russia, though against this view there were those who declared that his supposed promotion was in reality his suppression, since the committee, of which he had been made President, could neither make nor unmake a law, and no President had ever yet acquired any initiative or wielded much influence in that position. In other words, he had been "kicked up stairs" to keep him from making trouble below.

M. Witte's rise to his high position was an extraordinary thing in Russia. He was born in 1849, of German descent. His first official position was that of assistant station master and bookkeeper. He steadily rose in the railway service, and during the war with Turkey demonstrated his abilities so well that at its close he was summoned to St. Petersburg to take part in the work of the great railway commission. He was then appointed director of the Southwestern Railway, and later chief of the State Railway Department. In 1892 he became Minister of Communications, and the following year Minister of Finance. In the latter position he declared that Russia's ever recurring deficit was intolerable, and he proceeded first to reform the monetary system, then to reorganize the system of taxation, and then to negotiate commercial treaties by which Russia's trade was greatly increased.

His position on the labor question was defined in a report on a law authorizing the association of workmen, a position directly opposed to that of the Minister of the Interior, M. von Plehve. In this report M. Witte wrote: "The agitations which have arisen of late years among the working classes show that it is necessary to adopt measures for the amelioration of their condition. The vagueness of the regulations that exist to-day produces very undesirable results. On the one hand the workmen are now striving to obtain what they desire forcibly, and consequently they come under the influence of disloyal

elements. On the other hand, the servants of the state for want of clearly defined and strict laws, often act in a manner that may be characterized as arbitrary. Such a situation must prove detrimental to the authority of the government and ought not to be tolerated." M. Witte's influence had uniformly been in favor of peace and opposed to the aims of the military party in Russia. He was widely regarded as one of the ablest and most far-seeing statesmen in Europe.

Elections in France

I

In France the Senatorial elections of January 4 dealt with 98 seats, divided as follows: 56 belonged to the Ministerial majority, 42 to the minority, of whom 7 were Conservatives. The 7 Conservatives were re-elected; 2 Ministerial Republicans lost their seats, but the anti-Ministerial Republicans were turned out of 15 seats. Its session opened on January 13. The Chamber of Deputies was composed of 193 Progressists under the leadership of M. Ribot; 157 Radicals; 41 Monarchists led by M. Cochin; 49 Nationalists led by M. Millevoye; 46 Socialists led by M. Jaurès; 69 Radical Socialists, and 35 Catholics led by Abbe Lemire. The administration of 1903 was supported by a coalition of Radicals, Socialists, Radical-Socialists and the more advanced Progressists. This so-called Republican "bloc" was formed during the Dreyfus agitation. The Senate once more secured M. Fallieres as President; M. Leon Bourgeois was re-elected to the Chair of the Chamber by a large majority. The Socialists claimed one of the vice-president seats, and chose M. Jaurès to represent them. M. Ribot, in a speech of the general debate which was opened on January 19 attempted to open the way for reconciliation between the modern elements of the Ministerial majority and the Republican Progressists in such a way as to form a new majority from which the Socialists would be excluded.

II

M. Jaurès, who was signally honored by an office usually bestowed only on a representative of the Republican majority, was not only the most prominent leader of the French Socialist party, but one of the most picturesque figures in French political life. His formal entrance into the Socialist party coincided with a general progress of

socialism in France during the period from 1889 to 1893, when Radicalism had lost its prestige as a party of opposition through the Boulanger and Panama affairs. At the same time as M. Jaurès, certain other young and gifted men from the Radical party, former lieutenants of M. Clemenceau, were likewise converted to the new doctrine, which pledged itself to the necessary and gradual substitution of social ownership for capitalistic ownership. Such were M. Millerand, the shrewd and skillful logician; Viviani, the powerful and impassioned orator, and scores of young university professors, lawyers, and physicians, who were carried away by the irresistible example of M. Jaurès. Writes Mr. Othon Guerlac, sketching M. Jaurès' career for the *Review of Reviews*, "Thus the Socialist party, which before Jaurès had for its leaders ignorant and passionate men of the people, or half-educated men rendered bitter by failure in life, has now for its guide a philosopher and scholar, an idealist of warm heart and ardent imagination, who might have achieved any desired political or literary distinction in the bourgeois social order, but who has chosen instead to devote his great talents to the service of the masses,—of the unfeeling, unthinking, and often ungrateful mob,—and to strive, with little hope of recompense, for a distant and perhaps unattainable chimera."

In two sensational speeches delivered during the year, M. Jaurès challenged the attention of the world by bringing up two of the most acute and delicate questions in French politics—the question of Alsace Lorraine, and the "affaire Dreyfus." The latter was delivered with the aim of throwing light upon the last mysteries of the "affair," and of demolishing one last myth, that of the alleged "letter of the German Emperor." It was an act of courage, for the majority in the Chamber would prefer to see the "affair" interred, and the troublesome specter, that has caused them so much dismay, finally laid. But Jaurès turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the timid among his colleagues. During two whole sessions he reviewed the "affair," unveiling mysteries which had till then remained obscure, and castigating the Nationalists, who had played upon the credulity of the public.

Party Disorganisation in Spain

A new ministry was formed in Spain under the Premier Senor Villaverde, the former President of the Chamber of Deputies. The

story leading up to the change of ministry is as follows: Silvela, the late Premier, and Villaverde were the two most influential men in the Conservative party, and a majority of the members of parliament supported the Silvela ministry until the results of the Spanish-American war brought about a new situation. Instead of ranking as a naval power of some consequence, Spain was left deprived of her West Indian possessions, of the Philippine archipelago and of naval prestige, and Señor Silvela thought Spain ought to regain her rank among European nations, that she ought to consider entering into close relations either with France or with the triple alliance of Germany, Italy, Austria. He held that the possession of a few effective battleships and cruisers would do more than anything else to strengthen Spain's international position, and might assist them in acquiring control of Morocco in case the Moorish Government should break down.

When the question came up in parliament Silvela encountered not only the opposition of the Radical and Republican majority, but much to his surprise that of the Conservative group headed by Villaverde, who made a powerful speech against incurring the expense of building a strong navy. He, and his followers, together with the anti-Conservatives, overturned the Silvela cabinet and formed a new ministry on the policy of strict economy and internal improvement as against a policy of military and naval growth. Señor Villaverde, as Minister of Finance, was the only member of the Silvela cabinet who had devoted himself to the accomplishment of reform which would bring Spain out of the economic morass in which she had floundered for centuries. After a period of absolute apathy in the face of almost revolutionary agitation, the Villaverde Government suddenly at the beginning of August adopted a policy of violent repression. Republican meetings were dissolved, and authorization for others refused. A dozen newspapers were prosecuted without much visible result. The Government met with less and less support from its natural sympathizers, and a new grievance was grafted upon the chagrin and discontent prevailing in the army and navy since the American war. The policy of economy in expenditure was denounced as a neglect of the army and navy. On December 3 Señor Villaverde tendered his resignation. The next day the King proposed to him to form a new ministry, but he refused.

II

On December 5 a new Spanish Cabinet was formed under Señor Maura, an ultra Conservative, who stated that he would hold to the principles set forth in a speech made by King Alfonso, which were nothing more than a restatement of the policies which the Silvela Cabinet attempted to put into operation without success. The new Cabinet was regarded abroad as a symptom of the disorganization of Spanish political parties. The Conservative elements were no more united than they were in Silvela's time. The followers of Villaverde still opposed an enlarged army and navy program, and there were murmurs against the new ministry's proposals in dealing with the religious question; particularly against submitting the demands of the Vatican to the Cortes, since the Cortes was likely to approve anything that the Vatican demanded and the people at large would have no opportunity to pass directly upon a matter of utmost importance to their welfare.

Another new element in the political situation in Spain was the formation of a Democratic Liberal party led by General Weyler and Señors Montero, Rios and Canalejas. The new party favored a more active foreign policy, and urged an alliance with France and Great Britain. King Alfonso's visit to Portugal was interpreted as a part of a well-defined plan to regain the prestige that Spain lost in the war with the United States, a close alliance with Portugal being a preliminary move toward this end.

Death of the Statesman Sagasta

Spain's most famous statesman, Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, died at Madrid on January 5 at the age of seventy-five. The main incidents of his career were the part he played in the unsuccessful revolutions of 1856 and 1866. His ministry under the provisional government of 1868, his Presidency of the Cortes in 1871, and the Liberal governments over which he presided as Prime Minister for seven different ministries. It was within his term of office from 1897 to 1899 that his name became familiar in the United States during the war between his country and ours, when he did everything in his power to restore peace to Cuba, to quiet Spanish indignation and to meet the pressing demands of the United States. Powerless to prevent the humiliation

of Spain he saved her from internal anarchy, turned disaster abroad to the profit of the home country, and thwarted personal ambitions threatening the State by placing the crown securely upon the head of the boy King Alfonso.

Political Changes in the Smaller States of Europe

In Hungary the unpopularity of the Government army bill discussed in a previous chapter, brought about two changes of ministry. On June 28 a new cabinet was appointed with Count Khuen Hedervary, formerly Ban of Croatia, as Prime Minister, who proved unable to cope with the Independent party, and was forced to resign in October. He was succeeded by Count Tisza, whose father had been Prime Minister of Hungary from 1875 to 1890.

Changes in the Servian administration have already been noted in connection with the story of the tragedy of the murdered King and Queen of Servia. In Bulgaria, a cabinet crisis was precipitated at the end of March by the resignation of General Paprikoff, Minister of War, the other ministers having insisted on the appointment as chief of the staff, the notorious Colonel Dimitrieff, who had played a leading part in the kidnapping of Prince Alexander. General Paprikoff was succeeded by Colonel Savoff, but Colonel Dimitrieff did not get the appointment claimed for him, the military element opposing his being placed in a position which would have implied surrender to the dictation of Russia. The Ministry daily grew more unpopular, and on May 18 it resigned, to be succeeded by a cabinet whose policy was to oppose Russian dictation and maintain friendly relations with Turkey. The new Prime Minister was General Pietroff, a former colleague of M. Stambuloff. In Greece, M. Rally, the Prime Minister who had so strongly upheld Turkish authority, was forced to resign in December, his predecessor M. Theotokis being again called upon to form a Ministry.

Communal elections took place throughout Belgium in October. The question arose whether or not it would not be more advantageous for the Liberal party to ally itself with the Socialist with the object of downing the clerical party. This alliance took place in certain towns but the great majority of the Liberal party did not favor it. The Socialists had least reason to be pleased with the results of the election,

an evident reaction against their party being shown. The success of the Liberals was not great enough to indicate that the electoral body wished to disavow the policy of the government. The Catholics, on their side, failed in their effort to gain control of the new communal administration in most of the great towns. The Chamber of Representatives for 1903 was composed of 98 Catholics, led by the Minister M. de Smetde Meyer and N. Woeste; two Christian Democrats, led by M. Dacus, 28 Liberals and Progressists, led by M. Heumens, and M. Janson; 38 Socialists, led by M. Vandervilde. The Senate was composed of 74 Catholics, 33 Liberals and Progressists and 3 Socialists. The government remained in the hands of the Catholic party throughout the year.

Holland's first chamber for 1903 consisted of 26 Liberals, 15 Roman Catholics, 9 anti-Revolutionists; the second Chamber of 100 members divided among the following parties: 31 anti-Revolutionists, 24 Catholics, 29 Liberals, 8 Liberal Democrats and 24 Social Democrats.

In Sweden a new political party was formed in the second chamber composed principally of government officials, among whom were the Postmaster-General, Bishop von Scheele and several unattached town members. The group was called the Friends of Moderate Reform, and the basis of their organization was a modification of the Government's Suffrage program outlined in a previous chapter. During the summer General Crusebjörn resigned his office as Minister of War to be succeeded by Colonel Virgén. He was lauded by all parties for the great service he had rendered his country in the matter of military reform.

Norway's general election in 1903 was an event of unusual significance, since the change wrought by the elections was all the more striking when compared with the first vote on the consular question in the Storting on January 23, when the Conservatives only mustered 32 votes against the 81 votes of the Left and the Moderates. The campaign in connection with the general election had been waged from the beginning of the year. As early as February representative meetings of the Left delegates adopted an electioneering program containing the following features: Work for arbitration and neutrality, insurance against disablement, a stringent economy in finance, a direct method of

election, full equality within the union, a separate consular service to be completed within the session of the ensuing Storting, and continued agitation for a separate Norwegian Foreign Minister. As the time for election drew near it became clear that the position of candidates on the Consular question was the most vital point in the campaign. Men who had hitherto been opponents united on this ground, a new combined party called the "Samlings party" being the outcome. The Left was in some places supported by the Social Democrats. The victory was finally with the opposition, the composition of the new Storting being: Conservatives and Moderates 63, Left 50, and Socialists 4. A new ministry was formed on October 23rd. Professor Hagerup became Prime Minister and Home Secretary, and Dr. Sigurd Ibsen resident Counsellor of State in Stockholm. The Hagerup-Ibsen Ministry was well received. The Moderate Left was represented by 5 members headed by Dr. Sigurd Ibsen.

The election in Denmark for members of the folkething, the lower house of parliament, resulted as follows: Left reformists, 74 seats; Social Democrats, 16 seats; members of the Right, 12 seats, and moderate members of the Left, 11 seats. Finance Minister Hage was defeated by a Social Democrat on the issue of reform in the present system of direct taxation; this and the extension of communal suffrage were the issues of the campaign.

Japan's Unpopular Cabinet

General elections were held in Japan on March 7 in the midst of a parliamentary crisis growing out of the ministry's proposal with regard to the means of raising money to defray the cost of the great naval programme to which the country was pledged. All the political parties were arrayed against the Cabinet, not because of the naval program itself but because there was a strong objection to the government's plan to raise the money by increasing the land tax. The opposition, which elected 192 members of parliament in 1902, increased its members to 275, and the small majority held by Marquis Ito's followers was raised to 100. Marquis Ito's victory in the elections was a foregone conclusion, since he had commanded a majority in the House of Representatives for some time.

At the close of 1902 the Japanese Diet had been dissolved in con-



THE MIKADO OF JAPAN
COUNT INOUE

MARQUIS ITO
COUNT OKUMA

sequence of an adverse vote on the budget brought forward by Count Katsura's ministry, which provided for the continuation of the land tax, in order to meet the demand for naval expansion, and extension of the railroad and telephone systems. In the House of Representatives, which met in May after the elections, the Government party was still in hopeless minority, but were sustained in their position by the Marquis Ito who, to avoid frequent changes of ministry, used his influence as leader of the Sei-Yu-Kai for national instead of party purposes. He endeavored to arrange terms between the Sei-Yu-Kai, and in a conference it was decided to drop the land tax, and to provide funds for naval expansion by economies in the administration, by domestic loans and appropriations. This arrangement was accepted not without some discontent. The House then introduced a vote of censure on the ministry, and while the vote was thrown out a combination of parties resulted in the defeat of the government on May 29 on resolutions demanding the fixing of ministerial responsibility in connection with recent official scandal. The Cabinet ignored the censure and the Prime Minister declared that the resolution passed by the House of Representatives did not require the resignation of the ministry as the cabinet held its concession from the Emperor, not from the Diet.

The position of the Cabinet had become untenable, and on June 4 the Minister of Education resigned, in consequence of being regarded as responsible for the text book scandal which had led to the conviction of over 40 subordinates in his department on charges of bribery by booksellers and publishers. The Minister of Commerce who had advised some ill considered legislation for the regulation of rates of exchange also resigned, together with the Minister for Communication whose program for railway extension had been excluded. Marquis Ito, at the Emperor's invitation, accepted the post of President of the Council. Among other changes that followed the Sei-Yu-Kai, with which Marquis Ito was unable to continue his connection, was introduced by him to a new leader in Count Saionji, and a section which had broken away from the party in dissatisfaction with the absolute control exercised by Marquis Ito, founded a new party called "Doshi-Sukai," or, the Assembly of Fellow-Thinkers, under Count Itagaki. On December 10 the Emperor delivered in person a speech upholding the Cabinet.

Australia's Strong Labor Party

Sir Edmund Barton, Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, resigned toward the close of the year to accept a post in the high Federal Court. He was succeeded by Mr. Deakin, a leading politician, a consistent advocate of federation from the Independent Democratic side, and an ardent supporter of the Imperialist views of Mr. Chamberlain. An election of one-third of the Senate, and of the whole House of Representatives took place on December 16 with rather startling results. According to the Constitution each state votes as one electorate for the Upper House. The experiment was tried for the first time at this election. For the first time also women voted at a general election. The issue was simply between the labor party and the other parties, and the result was that the labor party gained six seats in the Senate, 4 from the Ministry and 2 from the Opposition. In the House of Representatives it won 6 seats from the Ministry. The parties were represented in the totals as follows: In the Senate there were 8 Deakin Ministerialists, 15 of the Opposition and 15 of the Labor party; in the new House of Representatives there were 26 Deakin Ministerialists, 26 of the Opposition and 23 of the Labor party. These numbers showed the growing strength of the Labor party, and pointed to a peculiar political complication. In the Senate, designed to be a conservative and steadfast body and the last constitutional resource, the Labor party had an actual majority.

The triumph of the Labor party was ascribed chiefly to the better discipline of its members who concentrated their strength, as the block system enabled them to do, on the return of their selected candidates. The women's vote, exercised for the first time, doubtless had its share in achieving the labor victory. Mr. Deakin's own policy, as affirmed by himself, did not derive any color from the political triumph of his allies of the Labor party, nor was there any indication up to the close of the year of how the overpowering vote would influence his policy. In his electoral address Mr. Deakin made a strong point of urging the need of population for Australia. "We cannot have a white Australia without whites," he said, "there has been a continuous decline since 1861, but the only way conceived by the Labor party of increasing the white population was by restricting the employment of the color."

CHAPTER IX

INVENTION

Improvement in the methods of transportation and communication continued to offer the most attractive field for the inventor and the engineer. Time saving seemed the greatest desideratum. To Germany must be credited the most noteworthy achievement in rapid transportation. All former speed records were broken on October 6, when an electric car on the Marienfelde-Zossen experimental line reached a speed of $125\frac{4}{5}$ miles an hour, a kilometre more than the highest previous record; in fact, the car reached a speed considerably higher than any moving body short of a projectile had previously attained. At a second test made October 23 the car beat its own record, making a rate of $131\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. In both tests the machinery and the roadbed were unimpaired. The current was between 13,000 and 14,000 volts, the power being reduced by transformers to about 450 volts. The car used had four motors having altogether about 1,100 horse power. It was constructed on the Siemens-Halske system. Twelve or fourteen persons on board, all technical men, affirmed that the motion of the car was no greater than that of an ordinary express train. The engineers gave their opinion that a speed of 125 miles an hour was not practicable under existing conditions on the state railroads of Germany, though they recommended a speed of 93 miles an hour for express trains between Berlin and Hamburg.

England's Monorail System

In England Parliament authorized the construction between Manchester and Liverpool of an electric express monorail track which promised to be the pioneer highspeed railway in the world for regular traffic. The engineers, Mr. F. B. Behr and Mr. R. Elliott-Cooper, proposed to run single cars on the single track at a speed of 110 miles

an hour, the cars running every ten minutes. The length of the line authorized was $34\frac{1}{2}$ miles, for which distance the cars would take twenty minutes instead of the forty-five minutes required by the fastest express train run by the three existing railway companies. Mr. Behr, the patentee of this highspeed monorail devoted himself to his invention for many years. In connection with the Brussels exposition he built an experimental monorail on which very high speeds were attained. The commissioners appointed by various governments to report on the line expressed their opinion that a speed of 100 miles an hour and over would be quite feasible on such a track, that cars could run around sharp curves with no possibility of derailment, and that passengers would feel no ill effects from such rapid travel. The practical features of the invention were highly commended.

Mr. Behr's idea was to convince the railway companies of the advisability of laying down special monorail tracks solely for the express passenger traffic, leaving the existing ground tracks for slow passenger and goods traffic. According to his system, the engine and cars rest upon one rail which is about half way from the floor to the top of the car. By arranging the seats back to back each of the carriages straddles the rail, extending to trucks on either side below the floor. On these trucks are set wheels which lie horizontally and run on the outside of two other rails. They thus act as steadiers, admit of high velocity with safety, and make abrupt curves possible.

Mont Blanc's Electric Railway

The French Minister of Public Works approved a project for an electric railway ascending Mont Blanc. The plan, drawn up by the famous engineer, M. Fabre, provided for a funicular railroad in every way identical with that in operation on Mount Rigi, and similar to the one that was put in operation on the Jungfrau toward the close of the year. The motive force was to be obtained from the Arve River, which takes its rise in the glaciers of Chamounix, the force given up by the stream also being used for illuminating and heating the stations and cars. Each locomotive was to be provided with two motors. Each train was to be limited to a maximum of twenty passengers; all details were worked out providing for comfortable travel at an elevation of 15,000 feet.

French Automobile Trains

A new system of automobile railway passed beyond the stage of experiment in France. It consisted in the substitution on railways, for the existing locomotives and carriages of trains, of automobiles accommodating forty passengers with luggage, including a lavatory and refreshment bar, and capable of a normal speed of $61\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. The manager of the Paris-Lyons Railway Company declared the new system "an absolute revolution," and promptly offered to place the rails of his road at the disposal of MM. Gardner and Serpollet, the builders of the automobile train, for their trial trip. The first automobile train started from the Lyons station, Paris, in June, and reached Dijon, 315 kilometres distant, in three hours and ten minutes. Another practical automobile train, which was successfully operated without rails, was an invention of the well-known Colonel Renard, who had already won fame through solving problems with reference to dirigible balloons. A characteristic feature of his train was the principle that each car propels itself; the propelling force only is furnished by the locomotive, and since the latter has no pulling to perform, but only to supply power, it can be built proportionately very light. Colonel Renard's method seemed to furnish a practical solution of industrial transportation over interior roads and highways. It offered nothing less than a street car line without rails, and opened up great practical possibilities in the field of rural transportation.

The Magnetic Railway System

Magnetism applied to the propulsion of railroad trains was the principle of a patent taken out by Professor A. C. Albertson, formerly of the Royal University at Copenhagen, now residing in the United States. The inventor exhibited a working model and a car weighing 200 pounds, illustrating the idea of overcoming the weight of a railway train by means of powerful magnets which slide along underneath the rail. Professor Albertson claimed that he had found a way to abolish the attraction of gravitation so far as his train of cars was concerned. For example, if a train weighs ten tons the engineer in an Albertson locomotive would merely turn on a magnetic force of eleven tons, overcoming the weight of the train and allowing it to slide along the rails with a friction of only one ton. The entire train

would in this way be more than held up by the magnetic force. In this way his system would revolutionize steam and electric traction, making it possible to travel by train from New York to San Francisco in ten hours instead of five days. Professor Albertson's claim, as sole inventor of the Magnetic Railway System, was so clear that the patents were issued thirty-two days after the filing of the application, being the quickest grant on record. Patents were also granted him by Great Britain, Germany, Italy, France, Denmark and Sweden.

A "Walking Locomotive"

For some years past Liverpool has been to the forefront in scientific study and practical experiments in the methods of road haulage of freight, doubtless due to the fact that the heavy traffic in Liverpool from the shipping docks to warehouses and railway stations is greater than in any other city of the world. Contests of motor wagons are held here every year under the auspices of the Self-Propelled Traffic Association, of which the Earl of Derby is the president. At a meeting of this Association held in 1903, a new invention called the "pedrail" was introduced, attracting wide and respectful attention in England, not only of the general public, but among scientific engineers. The "pedrail" was variously described as a "walking locomotive," a "half traction engine and half walking machine," and a "rail moving on wheels." The *Auto-Motor Journal*, of London, more accurately described it as "a traction engine which actually and literally walks upstairs with the stride and sure-footedness of an elephant, and hauls loads behind it under circumstances which would nonplus an ordinary traction engine. Ruts, curbstones and boulders it makes nothing of, and even nine-inch balks of timber are stubble before it."

The pedrail indicates by its name that it is a rail carried upon feet, and the principle of its action may be explained in a few words. It is simply this: Instead of having a permanent rail carried for the whole of its length on permanent feet, viz., sleepers, and wheels running upon this rail, the process is inverted. The feet are (as in the case of the railway) placed upon the ground, but instead of the rails being carried upon the feet, these feet support wheels, and the wheels thus supported act as bearers for a short length of rail attached to the moving carriage. The inventor, Mr. B. J. Diplock, of London, was credited with having

wrought "a revolution in mechanical locomotion." He demonstrated that the "pedrail" could be used with advantage for ordinary freight hauling on common roads, but that it was thoroughly practicable as a traction engine over bad roads, and even in districts where there were no roads at all. It would, for instance, be suitable for hauling minerals from newly developed mines, and heavy lumber from partly cleared forests, and would successfully meet the rough emergencies of military operations. It was further claimed that the pedrail could by certain modifications be attached to any ordinary traction engine.

Development of the Traction Motor

A giant traction motor designed for the needs of the lumbering region of Northern Michigan was constructed and successfully operated during the year. The motor represented no less than 200 horsepower, and was capable of hauling 100 tons of weight through snow beds two to three feet deep, and across the country where there was not even a foot path. Under these conditions, the locomotive attained a speed of three to four miles an hour; on a smooth surface, it developed a speed of six miles an hour, hauling 150 tons. This tractor, which differs radically in design from others used in hauling heavy weights, was constructed after the plans of its inventor, Mr. George T. Glover, of Chicago. Though weighing 25 tons, it was attached to runners in such a way that much of its weight could be shifted to bear directly upon the traction wheel. This portion of the engine was a hollow cylinder of boiler iron, provided with a series of three-cornered teeth set in rows upon its face. The wheel moved upon a hinged frame which automatically raised and lowered as it moved over the surface, adjusting it to the inequalities of the route, while the teeth, continually gripping the surface, furnished a tractive force which permitted the engine to move where a motor of much greater horsepower would have been unable to stir.

Preventing Railway Accidents

Various devices for insuring greater safety in railway travel were perfected during the year. A new device for the automatic stopping of railway trains was patented by an engineer of Hanover, Germany. It provided for stopping a train at full speed without the aid of any

of the train employees, and at the same time notifying one or more of the nearest railway stations of the occurrence. It consisted of a contact apparatus so placed between the rails that a plate, fastened to the lowest part of the air brake pipe under the tender, is touched in passing over it. In consequence of this contact a valve is opened, and the train is stopped through the air brake. Experiments in Germany demonstrated the practicability of keeping railroad trains on the same track in instant communication with each other and with stations along the way by means of a third rail, which acts as an electric wire connected with the apparatus in the locomotive cab. This apparatus can be used as a telephone. The system was also adopted by the French Government for equipping all its state lines.

An American inventor, Mr. H. J. Sedgwick, claimed that in his railway chronograph he had devised the means of preventing many kinds of wrecks and accidents. The machine with which he promised to do this wonderful work is but a small affair, an iron box about twelve inches square and three inches thick. The mechanism is such that it records on a tape every blast of the whistle; the speed of the train at every moment; the speed approaching the arrival and the delay at any station, and the departure from it; the time consumed in switching at any station; when and where the air brake is applied; just where the locomotive is at any moment and what it is doing at the time. The device is entirely automatic and simple. It is attached to the engine just in front of the cab and over the boiler. Various levers project from the machine and these are attached to the parts of whose action a record is desired. A Milwaukee company controlled the patent rights of the railway chronograph.

Submarine Telegraphy

On July 4 the second section of the "all American" Pacific cable was landed at Honolulu and connected with the already completed span from Honolulu to San Francisco. President Roosevelt opened the cable by sending a message from Oyster Bay, L. I., to Governor Taft at Manila. The President then sent a message of congratulation round the world to Mr. Clarence Mackay, President of the Commercial Pacific Cable Company. The route of the President's round-the-world message was as follows: By the Postal Telegraph Company's land

wire from Oyster Bay to San Francisco, thence by the new Pacific cable to Honolulu, to Midway, to Guam, and to Manila. From Manila to Hong Kong the message passed by the cable which replaced the one that was lifted and cut by Admiral Dewey, April 25, 1898, to cut off Spain's communication with the Philippines. From Hong Kong it passed by foreign cables to Singapore, to Penang, to Madras, to Bombay, to Aden, to Suez, to Alexandria, to Gibraltar, to Lisbon, and to the Azores. At the Azores it was taken up by the Commercial cables and sent to New York and Oyster Bay. This message, sent westward, occupied twelve minutes in encircling the globe, while Mr. Mackay's reply, sent eastward, returned to Oyster Bay in nine minutes. Owing to time's vagaries, the message sent from Oyster Bay at 11.23 P. M. on July 4, arrived at Guam at 1.30 P. M. on July 5, from which point the day grew gradually younger until it reached the place from which it started at 11.35 P. M. on July 4. The first span of the new cable, 2,412 nautical miles, was laid at a cost of about \$2,500,000. The second span, from Manila to Honolulu, touching at Guam and Midway Island, 5,800 miles, cost near twice as much as the first. The third span connects Manila and Shanghai. The entire length of the new cable is 9,600 land miles.

Aided and subsidized from public funds, the British Pacific Cable from Vancouver to New Zealand was put into active service. British North America assumed 39 per cent of the total cost, Australasia 33 per cent. and Great Britain 28 per cent. A specially heavy cable was used along the coast of British Columbia, and a new method employed, the copper core being one large central wire overlaid by four flat strips applied spirally and yielding better results than the usual stranded, cylindrical form. An American-made cable, 600 miles long, was completed and put in operation in the Gulf of Mexico. It was estimated that in 1903 there were at least 220,000 miles of cable under the waters, in which more than \$275,000,000 had been invested.

Status of Wireless Telegraphy

I

The first International Congress of Wireless Telegraphy assembled at Berlin the first week in August. It was composed of forty or fifty delegates, representing eight or ten countries. The object of the gathering

which met by the invitation of Germany, was not so much to discuss the scientific developments of wireless telegraphy as to consider its effect upon international relations. It was felt that something must be done to bring the various systems under international control; otherwise, grave problems were bound to arise through the squabbles of rival inventors and their companies. It was not thought to be advisable for any one system to get a monopoly. The congress succeeded in putting the status of wireless telegraphy before the public. It reported nine companies prepared to build and install the necessary apparatus: The British Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, the Marconi International Marine Communication Company, the Canadian Marconi Company, the Marconi Company of the United States, the General Electric Company of Berlin, the Siemens-Halske Company of Berlin, Queen & Company of Philadelphia, and the De Forest Company of New York City.

The various Marconi companies reported six stations in the United States, including the most powerful one in the world at South Wellfleet, Mass.; two stations in Nova Scotia; three stations in the course of construction in Alaska; five stations in operation in Hawaii; twenty stations in Great Britain; one in Germany; one in Belgium and one in France. Eighteen steamships, representing eight different lines, were carrying Marconi apparatus. Thirty-two men-of-war of the British navy were equipped with Marconi instruments, and the royal Italian navy reported five land stations and twenty ships equipped with the same system. The first use of wireless telegraphy for trans-Atlantic news purposes was made by the London *Times*, March 30, when two New York despatches headed "by Marconigraph" were printed. It was reported that the *Times* would continue to use the Marconi wireless service. The General Electric Company, of Berlin, reported over fifty stations and vessels supplied with the Slaby-Arco System, and the Siemens-Halske Company reported over thirty installations in active service. The German Government adopted for commercial service the Pollak-Virag system, enabling the sending and receiving of messages aggregating 40,000 words per hour.

II

Progress in wireless telegraphy was chiefly confined to improvements in the construction of apparatus for preventing interference be-

tween different operators, and to devices for perfecting syntony. Four new patents on systems of selective wireless telegraphy were issued by the United States Government during the year, one to Nikola Tesla and the others to John Stone. In each case the principle consisted in transmitting a signal in waves of two or more frequencies, implying two or more antennæ and transmitting circuits controlled simultaneously by the sending key; and the same number of receiving antennæ and receptive circuits, each of the latter being tuned to one of the transmitting circuits. A relay connected in common to the receiving circuits can only be actuated when these several circuits respond simultaneously to waves received. Consequently, no signals would be received unless transmitted in multiple waves of the exact frequencies for which the multiple receiving and transmitting circuits are tuned. The design of these patents was to lessen the chances of interference, also the chances of a message being read at any other wireless station than that for which it was destined.

In England Sir Oliver Lodge patented his method of using a disc rotating in mercury as a self-restoring coherer. He also announced the invention of a coherer consisting of a metallic point dipping into a layer of oil on a pool of mercury. When the Hertzian waves fall upon this coherer the insulating oil breaks down, the point and mercury cohere, and a local circuit is then brought into action, which, by electro-magnetic mechanism, raises the point out of the mercury and restores the coherer to its former sensitive state for the reception of other Hertzian waves. The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company patented apparatus, in which condensers play an important part, for the production of continued oscillations across the spark gap in connection with a transformer and an alternator.

Mr. Peter Cooper Hewitt, son of the late Abram S. Hewitt of New York, attracted considerable attention in both this country and Europe through his invention of a "Mercury Vapor Interruptor," which experts declared would advance wireless telegraphy a long way toward practical use. This invention takes the place of the usual spark gap for discharging in the antenna, or sending mast. It consists of a glass globe, 8 to 10 inches in diameter, with two mercury electrodes contained in tubes sealed in the lower part of the globe. Wires enter the globe in such a way as to lead the current in by one route and out by

another, the inner ends of the wires terminating in the mercury cups. Though the resistance of the mercury is very great, when a high voltage has been applied this resistance suddenly disappears. A condenser may, therefore, be charged to a higher potential and then, by the disappearance of the resistance, be discharged very rapidly. The moment the current stops the original resistance reappears. This new interruptor gives impulses with great frequency, as many as one million per second. As the impulses are very powerful, they permit the sending of messages to great distances, and as the number of oscillations per second can be controlled there is opportunity for selective signaling, and therefore secrecy in the sending of messages. The Hewitt interruptor, moreover, is noiseless. The air interruptor used by Marconi causes, when high voltages are used, a noise like successive shots from great guns. The invention was really a development of the Cooper Hewitt "Mercury Vapor Lamp," shown in New York the previous year.

Improving the Telegraph and the Telephone

A system of telegraphing and telephoning over the same wire was patented in the principal countries of Europe. The most practical part of the invention consisted in the feature that existing telegraph wires could be made to serve for telegraphing and telephoning through the insertion of a "differential spool." A Danish electrician, Herr Valdemar Poulsen, announced the invention of the telegraphphone, which enables a telephonic conversation to be permanently recorded on a steel wire and reproduced at any minute.

A new rapid type printing telegraph was exhibited during the year by Siemens and Halske of Berlin. This apparatus sends the large number of 2,000 letters per minute over the wire, while a single operator, even with the best auxiliaries, cannot send more than 200 or 300 letters in the same time. It is possible in this way to send telegrams from quite a number of operators over one wire. The invention belongs to the species of automatic telegraph described in OUR OWN TIMES, Vol. I., in which the telegram is placed, prepared in such a manner that, with an apparatus similar to a typewriter, holes are punched in a continuous paper tape for every letter to be telegraphed. For every letter the new apparatus punches two holes in the tape, and directly over

them the letter is printed in ordinary type, so that the perforated tape contains a perfectly legible telegram. The tape comes from the receiving apparatus ready to be pasted on the telegram blanks, and it also contains the telegram in common type. In order to make it possible to print 2,000 letters per minute without the use of sensitive mechanical apparatus the electric spark is used.

Commercial Value of the Cooper Hewitt Light

The Cooper Hewitt Mercury Lamp was exhibited in England in its commercial form during the year. It consisted of a glass tube about a yard long with the bulb at one end, which contains a small quantity of mercury. All air is exhausted from the tube, which thereupon fills with vapor from the mercury in the bulb. Electrodes are provided at each end of the lamp. The negative electrode in the bulb of mercury and the positive electrode at the opposite end. On passing a direct current through the lamp, the vapor which fills the tube is rendered incandescent and gives off a steady blue-white light. Experts pronounced the lamp highly economical, since it only consumed half a watt per spherical candle power as contrasted with four watts for the same light with ordinary incandescent lamps. They found its commercial value impaired by the defect of the light's making it impossible to distinguish colors. A promising field for the new light was that of photography. Being rich in actinic rays, which most affect the photographic plate, the Mercury Vapor Lamp was found to give excellent results. Its practical value in this field was thoroughly tested during the year. A prominent New York photographer who used three tubes, having a combined power of 750, gave this endorsement of the new light: "For artistic portrait work, it is ideal. It is so soft that it does not affect the expression of the face, and yet so powerful that it is equal to daylight. It is an epoch maker. The ordinary electric light, incandescent or arc, is apt to be unstable, and it is hard. The field of this new light is broad. It can be used to illuminate theatres because the tubes can be protected in transportation by being placed in boxes, and all you have to do is to attach the electric wires to have your lamps working." A number of experiments in other lines promised a favorable future for the Mercury Vapor Lamp as an article of commerce.

Carbureted Air Light

Dr. Hugh Marshall, of the University of Edinburgh, announced the invention of a new method of using carbureted air for lighting. It was an improvement on the so-called "gravity lamp" devised by M. Naum Notkin, of Moscow, in which carbureted air was obtained by employing paper pulp saturated with gasoline to produce the vapor required. In the Marshall lamp the necessary current of air through the carbureter is not maintained by the effect of gravity, but by means of the draft from the lamp chimney. It is thus possible to have the body of the lamp below the actual burner. To reduce the manipulation necessary with such a lamp when used for incandescent lighting, Dr. Marshall invented a form of burner tube, which enabled the user to regulate the mixture of vapor and air to a nicety by simply rotating the tube in one direction or the other. The new method of using carbureted air was applied by Dr. Marshall to various types of lamps—table and portable, hanging, basket, and also in lantern form for outdoor lighting. These showed a brilliant incandescent light, without any liquid or wicks being used, and were free from smell or smoke. Dr. Marshall claimed also that carbureted air could be supplied all over a house without danger or complicated processes.

New Substances

A great variety of articles, combs, handles for canes and umbrellas, etc., were manufactured in Germany from a new substance, called "galalith, or milk stone." The principal albumenoid substance of skimmed milk, the casein, is the raw material out of which the new product galalith is manufactured. For more than fifteen years German inventors had been struggling with the problem now successfully solved. Heretofore the experimenters failed because the casein, however treated, was too brittle or because it softened in water. The inventors of galalith succeeded, after many troublesome trials, in doing away with the deficiencies of former methods and in working out an entirely new process. An advantage of the new product as compared with celluloid is the fact that it does not ignite so easily and is entirely odorless. Trials proved that even when kept for weeks in water it does not distend more than the best quality of buffalo horn; after one month it had not soaked in more than 20 per cent. of water. Later

trials were made to produce, by the addition of vegetable oils, an insulating material for electrotechnical purposes.

A new metal, similar to aluminum, but of still lighter weight, was invented by the French engineer, Albert Nodon, and in honor of him called "Nodium." It was obtained by means of a new method of electrical ionization. In color, lustre and structure it is almost like steel. Its specific weight, when molten, is 2.4. In ductility and malleability it is comparable to bronze, while its electrical conductivity is as high as that of copper of equal weight. The inventor claimed numerous uses of Nodium in the near future, especially for electric wires and cables, torpedo boats, air ships, and for castings in place of bronze and similar metals.

Getting Rid of the Smoke Nuisance

Getting rid of the smoke nuisance is one of the greatest needs of modern times, and a problem which has taxed the ingenuity of more than one inventor. An apparatus was exhibited before the Belgian Society of Engineers, by which its inventor, M. Tobiansky, demonstrated that he could not only rid smoke of its harmful properties, but that he could obtain from smoke of all sorts the greatest possible profit. This apparatus provides for (1) filtration of the smoke to rid it of pulverulent matters, and of the condensible hydro-carbides; (2) carburization of the gases to increase their facility of combustion; this method utilizes the heat which is present in the smoke for the purpose of heating the hydro-carbides of the filter; the heat of the smoke warms the water of the refrigerator, and this hot water in its turn can feed a boiler. Finally the porous matter, the coke of the filter, after having been charged with condensed hydro-carbides and with the carbon and suspension in the smoke, forms a very rich combustible.

A smoke washing apparatus was operated with considerable success in London. It was invented by an Italian, who claimed that his patent deprived smoke of its most objectionable qualities. It consisted of a metal cylinder, at the top of which are openings for the ingress and egress of smoke. A vertical shaft runs through the center of this cylinder, carrying on its upper portion a centrifugal fan, and near its lower end a whirler or paddle. Smoke is drawn from the chimney into the cylinder by means of the fan, and the whirler mixes it with

water contained in the bottom of the cylinder. After being washed, the smoke, now almost colorless, escapes from the upper part of the apparatus.

House Cleaning by Air Pressure

A practical application of the air blast for collecting and removing dust was made in an apparatus that especially recommended itself for house cleaning. This apparatus removes dust from carpets and house-furnishings, and at the same time collects it in the receptacle. In hotels the power for compressing the air is in some form of stationary generator, but portable, electrically-driven suction pumps are provided for private house cleaning. The carpet renovators are of various sizes, from 12 to 36 inches wide. They consist of the steel framework, which lies flat on the surface of the fabric, and contains an expanded nozzle connected with the hose. In the bottom of this framework is a slot about 1-100 of an inch in width, through which the air passes. It is forced into the fabric at various pressures, according to the thickness of the carpet and the amount of dirt it has collected. The usual pressure varies from 60 to 70 pounds to the square inch. This is sufficient to blow the dirt out of and from under the covering. It is then prevented from escaping into the air by a cloth bag which collects it, but is loose enough to allow the air to pass through. The dirt then settles into a pan designed to collect it.

Dispelling Fog by Electricity

At a meeting of the British Physical Society held in London near the close of the year, Sir Oliver Lodge, the eminent English electrician described his work upon the dispersion of fog and dust clouds by means of electrical discharges into the atmosphere. He described his experiments at Liverpool, in which he had used, for the purpose of dispersing fogs, a "Winhurst" machine. During a thick fog the air about the University of Liverpool was electrified by means of this machine, the current passing through a bunch of points on top of a high mast erected on the roof of the building. In this manner, it was spread as much as possible, with the result that for a radius of 165 to 200 feet the air was perfectly free from fog. At the same time the scientist conceived the plan for a trial on a large scale by placing a

sufficient number of stations on both sides of the Mersey River, and charging the air on one side with positive and on the other side with negative electricity, in order to see whether a mass of fog on the river, which almost regularly caused collision of vessels and heavy damages, could not be dispelled. This experiment, however, had to be abandoned for lack of funds.

Three German Inventions

The danger of conflagration from locomotive sparks led to the invention of an ingenious device by a German engineer, which was put into operation on a number of German State Railways. This device consists of a series of three grates set one above another in a square iron or steel frame of such size and form as to fit into the smoke chamber of the locomotive. The arrangement is such that, while a free passage is secured for the gases of combustion, no spark or ember more than a sixteenth of an inch in thickness can escape, these being so small that they are self-extinguished within a few feet after escaping into the open air. This invention was a great improvement over every other precaution which had been devised to arrest locomotive sparks.

Another German, an engineer of Munich, successfully demonstrated the effectiveness of a new liquid preparation for extinguishing fires. The first experiment showed that the skin, when painted with the liquid, becomes insensible to heat. Rags saturated with petroleum can be burned upon the hand after it has been immersed in the liquid. Small fires can be extinguished with the hands, and with one pailful of the liquid a fire in a pit of tar was put out in one second. The tar could not again be ignited, as the liquid formed a thin, unmeltable crust which completely shut out oxygen.

The need for a breathing apparatus in many industries, in entering mining shafts containing noxious gases, in entering burning buildings, etc., was met by another German invention. This apparatus consists of a helmet made of stiff leather, into which glasses for the eyes are inserted, of a pair of bellows, and air hose. Through the latter the person wearing the helmet is supplied from outside with the necessary fresh air in the same manner as in the diver's outfit. The superfluous air escapes through a valve at the top of the helmet. In this way the

head of the wearer is constantly fanned by a fresh, cool current of air, and he is enabled to remain for hours even in very hot rooms filled with noxious gases or smoke. The helmet is also provided with a speaking tube, making it possible for the wearer to converse with an assistant up to a distance of 160 feet.

Mr. Edison's Patents

Tracts of land in the southwestern part of the United States containing valuable deposits of gold suddenly acquired a new value through an invention of Thomas A. Edison, who perfected a device for separating the gold from the placer gravel without the use of water. Hitherto it had been impossible to work these fields, because the water needed for the proper operation of the hydraulic system was not at hand. Mr. Edison employed an air blast to separate the gold from the gravel and other impurities. By this system of dry washing he claimed that 98 per cent of the gold could be saved, whereas the old system got only 75 per cent. of the gold. Another Edison invention announced during the year was that of an electric generator, which he promised would make it possible for the day laborer, as well as the millionaire, to light his home with electricity. For two cents a day light and power may be produced in sufficient quantities to supply the needs of any family, and the generator is so simple, at least according to the inventor, that any person of ordinary intelligence can act as engineer. A list of the patents issued to Thomas A. Edison by the United States Government credited him with 791 inventions. Up to 1895 he had taken out 711 patents, and from that date he had added to the list from 3 to 23 patents each year. In 1902 he took out 19, and in 1903 he received 6. In ordinary fees for patents Mr. Edison had spent over \$51,000.

Assisting the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind

That deaf mutes can be made to hear by a mechanical device was successfully demonstrated in New York by Mr. Miller R. Hutchison, an electrical inventor. Through an instrument which he named the "Acousticon" he obtained some remarkable results. A young woman of 22 who had lost sight and hearing at the age of six listened to music for the first time since her affliction. A girl born blind, deaf, and dumb

heard both spoken words and instrumental music. Similar examples could be multiplied almost without end. The purpose of the "Acousticon" is to take the place of the middle ear. It is the outcome of a previous invention, the Akouphone. The central feature of the invention is a cup-shaped body, into the open end of which the sound waves enter, the bottom or inner end being shaped to reflect and concentrate the sound waves, and finally direct them backward until they strike the center of a vibrating diaphragm mounted in the cup at right angles to its axis. Another instrument invented by Mr. Hutchison is the "Massacon," which is not a device to enable the deaf to hear, but a contrivance for producing sharp sounds to exercise the enervated and disused middle ear, and the adjacent parts.

II

By the use of another ingenious invention made and patented by Jacob Reese of Sharon Hill, Pa., deaf mutes and blind mutes were enabled to dispense with the finger and lip service, as well as the raised letter method, and to converse as freely in the dark as in the light. The invention consisted in establishing communication by electric impulses through a circuit in which a source of electricity and a person or persons receiving the impulses form a part, with the apparatus under the control of such person or persons for making the impulses with rapidity and facility. By means of this invention it was hoped that blind mutes could throw their cumbrous finger boards away, and receive and send their impulses by electricity with as great rapidity as is done by telegraphing. It was recommended that school rooms in institutions for the dumb be so wired that the teacher could speak to any one, or to every scholar in the class room at the same time.

III

By a wonderful apparatus of his own invention, Professor Peter Stein claimed he had discovered the secret of giving vision to the blind. Professor Stein's claim rests on the theory that man does not see with the eye, but with the brain, the eye only serving to receive the image, which the optic nerve transmits to the seat of perception. If, then, the image can be transmitted to the brain without eyes a blind person can see as well as anybody else. The apparatus has the same scientific basis as the telephone, with the substitution of light for sound.

Improved Army Equipment

Colonel Hope of the British army announced that after nine and one half years of continuous work in which he had calculated and recorded over 10,000 experiments, he had produced an absolutely safe and smokeless powder which he called Veloxite. He claimed that it contained 73 per cent. more power as propelling agent, weight for weight, than the government's powder while containing no dangerous ingredients, no nitro compound, sulphur, phosphorus, nor chlorate.

Signor's Bendetti's wonderful bullet-proof cloth so successfully stood all official tests that the Italian Government negotiated for its use for special uniforms. The process of its manufacture still remained a secret though the results of the experiments made by the different military commissions were given to the public. The armor is apparently a sort of felt varying in thickness from 1-16 to 7-16 of an inch; against the armor 7-16 of an inch thick the regular ordnance revolver with steel covered ball proved powerless. In the numerous experiments made, the ball whether of lead or steel, on striking the protector was arrested and deformed, in some cases rebounding and in others being almost reduced to pulp. A dagger driven with all possible force could not penetrate the armor and its point was bent into a shapeless mass. To demonstrate that the force of the bullet resulted in no shock, Signor Bendetti attached a piece of his cloth to his horse, and fired upon the animal at a distance of six feet. The ball fell at the feet of the horse without feazing him; freed from his halter, the animal walked away as if nothing had happened.

Several other inventions for the protection of the soldier against the high power of the modern rifle were announced, the most important being the cuirass or jacket and the rifle shield. From tests made of the former by the officers of the ordnance department of the United States army it was found that the cuirass furnishes absolute protection against a revolver bullet at close range, but at a range of twenty-five yards it was easily pierced by a bullet from the 38 caliber revolver. The rifle shield, consisting of steel plate one inch thick, backed by one inch thick bullet-proof cloth gave protection against the caliber 30 rifle at a range of five hundred yards.

The announcement of an "electric cannon" invented by a Norwegian professor caused considerable comment, and discussion, dur-

ing which it was brought out that the idea had been evolved by a Wisconsin inventor twelve years previous, and the earlier invention had proved that such a gun would be so inefficient, within any practical limits of weight and power, as to be of no practical value whatever. The Norwegian cannon seemed to offer certain advantages in discharging projectiles carrying dynamite and other high explosives, although, in addition to other disadvantages it required a large storage battery or other source of electric power to be carried with it.

Long Distance Power Transmission

The longest power circuit on the Atlantic seaboard was put into operation in Canada from Shawinigan Falls to Montreal and Quebec, distances of 84 and 90 miles respectively. The current to Montreal was sent over the long circuit at a pressure of 50,000 volts, on nearly five thousand poles from the neighboring forests, the wire cables used being of aluminum instead of copper. The existing circuits carried 8,000 horse-power and it was calculated that 30,000 horse-power would shortly be transmitted. The aluminum was extracted by this power.

California made some notable achievements in power development and transmission. In the new power house of the Edison company in the San Bernardino mountains, a miner's inch of water was made to generate three and one-third horse-power, where the same amount of water in one of the low-pressure heads of the east would produce but a small fraction of one horse-power. One of the typical new plants had a pipe line six miles long and a drop of 1,960 feet to the power house, the highest hydraulic pressure of its kind ever used. A witness, describing the force of the water, declared: "Should the pressure pipe by any means become punctured near its lower end, the released jet would pierce a man's body as cleanly as would a steel-sheathed bullet from a high-power rifle. Should the full stream from the main twenty-four-inch pipe burst its bounds, the power-house, steel and concrete though it is, would be riven and ground to pieces."

Another extraordinary enterprise of the Pacific Coast looked to obtaining power from the glacier streams of Mount Ranier, and producing an electric current on such an extensive scale that it would illuminate Seattle, Tacoma, and a score of small towns on Puget sound, as well as supplying power for all their industries.

The Hudson River was made to deliver over 30,000 horse-power for electrical transmission from Spiers Fall to Albany, forty miles distant. By building a stone wall 1,800 feet long and 100 feet high the river was so dammed at Spiers Falls as to lift it fifty feet above its former bed and give it a fall of 80 feet.

Of the 7,000,000 horse-power available at Niagara, it was estimated that about 1,000,000 would soon be in active use. Owing to its cheap distribution, works of all kinds sprang up during the year on both the American and the Canadian side. It was freely used in Buffalo and places thirty and forty miles away were glad to secure it, since the company sold at \$20 per horse-power a year for twenty-four-hour power supplied every day in the year, which was less than half the cost of the best-known economy by steam. A plant erected on the Canadian side allowed for a total output capacity of 100,000 horse-power. It contained three of the biggest dynamos in the world, each able to deliver 10,000 horse-power, while the best of those on the American side were equal to only 6,000.

Water-Power vs. Steam-Power

Notwithstanding these and many other examples of the extension of the use of water-power, Mr. Thomas C. Martin, writing for the *Review of Reviews*, furnished statistics to show that "in spite of the vast and spectacular developments of water-power in certain districts, the proportion of steam is much higher among all powers than it was thirty years ago, when, apparently, the use of 'white coal,' as the French call it, touched its climax. In other words, in 1870 steam furnished, in the United States, 1,215,711 horse-power, or 51.8 per cent of a total of 2,346,142; in 1880, the amount of steam power used was 2,185,458 horse-power out of a total of 3,410,837 or 64.1 per cent.; in 1890, out of an aggregate of 5,954,655 horse-power, 4,581,595, or 76.9 per cent., was steam; while in 1900 steam figured to the extent of 8,742,416 horse-power, or 77.4 per cent. in a total of 11,300,081. This increase in thirty years, from 51.8 per cent. to 77.4 per cent. of the total power shows how much more rapidly the use of steam power has increased than that of other primary sources of power. The total amount of water power reported as used by American manufacturing establishments in 1900 was 1,727,258 horse-power, 1,263,343 horse-

power in 1890, 1,225,379 horse-power in 1880, and 1,130,431 horse-power in 1870. Apparently, the use of water power for manufacturing purposes has decreased relatively in thirty years from nearly one-half of the total motive power to less than one-sixth of the amount used by our manufacturers."

CHAPTER X

DISCOVERY

Four expeditions were exploring the Antarctic regions during 1903. A German expedition under Dr. von Drygalski, spent most of the year somewhere between Knox Land and Enderby Land. Four members from the staff on board the *Gauss* were left on Kerguelen Island to take meteorological observations for a year. One of the four died and the others were taken by the *Stassfurt* to Sydney, landing there on April 17. The *Gauss* was frozen fast in sea ice until February 8, when it was set free and began making for the north on April 8. Dr. von Drygalski reported that from where they were ice bound they could see in the distance a peak 12,000 feet high, of volcanic material. This peak was named Gaussberg. A Swedish party under Dr. Nordenskjöld had its base near the Falkland Islands. Their ship was lost for a brief season in the ice near Grahams Land, but they were rescued without loss of life. A Scottish expedition led by W. S. Bruce, left the Falkland Islands for farther south early in January.

The English expedition under Captain Scott accomplished some important work, the results of which became known during the year through the relief ship "*Morning*," which reached New Zealand on March 25. Captain Scott's vessel, the *Discovery*, entered the southern icepack on December 23, 1901, in latitude 67° , and within three weeks had worked on to Cape Dare. On January 20 a party landed in an excellent harbor, Wood Bay, latitude $76^{\circ} 30'$, and deposited a record of the voyage. Two days later Cape Crozier was reached, and then the *Discovery* continued southward along the ice barriers, and on February 3 entered an inlet in longitude 174° . A captive balloon was used to study the land conditions, and sledge expeditions were sent out in various directions.

Winter quarters were found near Mount Erebus and Mount Terror. The *Discovery* was frozen in on March 24. In September, 1902, the

sledge expeditions began. Lieut. Royd Skelton made a record expedition to Mount Terror, travelling over the ice with a temperature as severe as 58 degrees below zero. Capt. Scott, Dr. Wilson, and Lieut. Schackleton started south on December 15, 1902. All the dogs died on the way, and the men had to drag the sledges, half the sledges at a time, over five mile stretches, so that each five miles in advance required fifteen miles travel. In spite of all difficulties, the three men succeeded in establishing a station in 80°, 40' south, whence they continued under light loads to 82°, 17' south. This point reached on January 1st, 1903, was the farthest south so far reached by man. Ascending an elevation, they saw mountains to the south of them at least 83°, 20' south. Sir James Ross's record was 78° and 40', while Borchgrevink's was 78° and 50'. On February 3 the party returned to the ship *Discovery* which had been revictualled by transferring provisions from the *Morning* by means of sledges.

The extensive mountain system of the Antarctic continent was one of the most important geographical discoveries ever made in the far south. The expedition also found that the ice barrier girdling the land presumably floats, being fed slowly from the land ice. Other valuable results of the exploration were rich collections of marine fauna, skins and skeletons of sea birds and seals, meteorological and geological observations, and magnetic and seismographic records. Many photographs were taken.

Since the relief ship *Morning* made her way back with so little difficulty, it was thought it would be no very hard matter for the *Discovery* to return. The latter, however, was imbedded in the ice in June eight miles from open water, and her ability to get out was so doubtful that the Royal Geographical Society appealed to the British public and to the Government for money to cover the cost of sending the *Morning* back to the Antarctic. Two ships the *Morning* and the *Terra Nova* left Tasmania early in December to go to the rescue of the *Discovery*. The *Terra Nova* was fitted out by the British Government, acting independently of the scientific society. She carried gun cotton with which to blast out a channel. It was the understanding that if the *Discovery* could not be extricated, she would be abandoned and her officers and men would be transferred to the *Terra Nova*.

II

Arctic exploration accomplished little in 1903. The expedition under the Russian explorer, Baron Toll, lay ice-imprisoned at the New Siberian Islands. The second Ziegler expedition sailed from Archangel, Russia, on July 4, and established winter quarters on the southern coast of Franz Josef Land. The first party sent out by William Ziegler, in 1901, under Evelyn Baldwin, had accomplished so little that Mr. Ziegler deposed Mr. Baldwin as leader, and appointed as commander of the second expedition, Anthony Fiala, a photographer who accompanied the first party. Mr. Ziegler again provided ample funds for the undertaking. The National Geographic Society of Washington coöperated.

Captain Sverdrup made public a full report of his voyage to the north of Greenland in the *Fram*, which reached a latitude of 81°, 40' in longitude 94° west. He stated that there was no evidence that any land existed north or west of this point. He announced the discovery of a few new islands, and the collection of many specimens of geological, botanical and zoological interests. Lieut. Peary returned from Greenland in order to prepare for another expedition to the North Pole. The story of the expedition under the Duke of Abruzzi, which reached one point farther north than Nansen had attained was published in 1903. Captain Amundsen who commanded a Swedish expedition, and the ship *Gjøa*, sailed from Christiania in June, for the purpose of taking magnetic observations about the region where Sir James Ross discovered the magnetic pole. Whalers returning from Baffin's Bay in November reported having seen Captain Amundsen's ship; they said that it was poorly equipped and too small.

Report of the Albatross

Remarkable discoveries were reported by the United States Government Scientific Expedition under Professor Agassiz, aboard the ship "*Albatross*," which had sailed from San Francisco on August 20, 1900. Vast depths were sounded and new records made on the remarkable voyage, the details of which were first given out in 1903. A little more than a hundred miles from the Island of Guam, soundings made in the Moser Basin recorded 4,813 fathoms, or 28,878 feet, the height of Mount Everest. In general the expedition reported that



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the floor of the Pacific comprised extensive plateaus, lofty mountain ranges, and great hollows or basins, the most important being the Moser and the Tonga-Kermadec. It was further discovered that at the greatest depths of the Pacific there was little or no animal life which does not exist at the shallower depths. Soundings developed a mean depth of from 2,500 to 2,700 fathoms. Deeper spots showed from 2,800 to 2,900 fathoms. The new soundings corrected many former inaccuracies.

The Jesup Ethnological Investigation

Previous theories as to the origin of the American and Asiatic tribes in the Far North were overthrown or modified by a study of the data collected by scientific investigators sent out by Mr. Morris K. Jesup. The "Jesup North Pacific Expedition" was organized in 1897, and by 1903 materials collected by its various investigators had been placed on exhibition at the American Museum of Natural History. To Dr. Franz Boas, curator of Ethnology, was assigned the task of formulating a decision on the collections as a whole, regarding (1) how long the various tribes had been on various parts of the Pacific coast and what changes had taken place in racial characteristics and forms of civilization, (2) what relation, past or present, neighboring or distant tribes bore to one another, and the probable origin and connection of their languages and customs. The investigations in America had been conducted by Doctor Boas himself, by Harlan I. Smith, Livingston Farrand, James Teit, George Hunt, Roland B. Dixon, and other American ethnologists. Waldemar Jochelson and Waldemar Bogoras, of the Imperial Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, and Dr. Berthold Lanfer had instituted the researches in different parts of Siberia.

In December of 1903, Dr. Boas announced the conclusion that the tribes around the Behring Sea and east of Greenland are sub-divisions of one race, and that the Esquimaux position as a distinct race, so long conceded, could no longer be sustained. Dr. Boas' statement of his conclusions, based on an exhaustive study of the materials collected, was as follows: "It seems clear that the isolated tribes of eastern Siberia and those of the northwest coast of America form one race, similar in type and with many elements of culture in common. It would seem that the unity of race was much greater in former times

than it is now; that the invasion of eastern tribes in America, such as the Esquimau, Athopaskan, and Salish, and of western and southern tribes in Asia, such as the Yakut and Tungus, have disturbed the former conditions.

"Nevertheless, enough remains to lead us to think that the tribes of this whole area must be considered as a single race, or, at least, that their culture is a single culture, which at one time was found in both the northeastern part of the old world and the northwestern part of the new world.

"The culture of Asia and America has its closest resemblances on the opposite shores of the Pacific Ocean, between the fiftieth and fifty-fifth parallels of latitude. The tribes around Behring Sea, north of the fifty-fifth parallel, are intruders, who pushed in in more recent times. They are so mixed by intermarriage, interchange of customs, etc., as to make it difficult, often, to distinguish them. In Alaska it is often hard to tell where the Indian leaves off and the Esquimau begins. Culture and conditions correspond with remarkable resemblances. All the tribes apparently had a common ancestry and a common home in Arctic America."

Waldemar Bogoras, who had undertaken two journeys in behalf of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, published in 1903 (*Harper's Magazine*) some interesting observations on the Chukchee Tribe, who occupy the whole northeastern corner of Asia. He found that they displayed certain traits that were very different from the tribe at the mainland of Asia, and that their customs and beliefs bore a strong resemblance both to the American Esquimaux, and to the Indians of the northwestern shore. They are a warlike tribe who successfully held their ground against the Cossack invaders until two centuries ago. They still retain much of their fierceness. Murders are of common occurrence and are invariably followed by acts of blood revenge. Persons suffering from incurable illness, old men and women weakened by age, often ask to be killed by their nearest relatives, who feel bound to comply with the request. No retraction is permitted, since such an announcement is considered a promise of human sacrifice to the evil spirits, which if broken incurs the revenge of the spirits on the whole family. So striking was the resemblance between the religious ideas and the folklore of the Chukchee Tribe

of Eastern Siberia and those of tribes of Southern Alaska and British Columbia, that Mr. Bogoras was convinced of their kinship.

Other evidence to support the theory that Asiatic civilization was cradled in America was collected independently by Dr. Stewart Culin, of the University of Pennsylvania, who had begun his investigations to strengthen his position that there was no relationship between the tribes of Asia and America. Among other curious coincidences cited are the divining rods described in the oldest known Chinese book dating from the 12th Century B. C., and their counterpart, the gambling sticks used by many tribes in America; the common use of the arrow as a symbol for man, the similarity of the Mexican game of patolli to the Hindoo game of parchessi. Dr. Culin found upon the Western continent many other things, not only similar to those in Asia, but precisely identical with them; things not only the same in form and use, but in source and development as well; things so complex that his former theory of their having been produced independently was no longer tenable.

A New Ethnic Type

Under the direction of the Prince of Monaco, the Grottos of Baousse-Rousse, near Mentone, were explored for pre-historic remains. The chief discovery of the year was a human fossil of a new type. At 21 feet was found a complete skeleton, and 2 feet lower a burial place containing two bodies. The skeleton found at 21 feet was a man of great height, 6 feet 4 inches; the skull was reconstructed showing that the facial part was very low with characteristics of the race known as Cro-Magnon. The two skeletons found at 23 feet were of the negroid type.

Archæology

In making excavations in an ancient city of Babylonia, in 1903, a school-house was unearthed just as it was 4,000 years ago, in the time of King Hammurabi. It was built of sunburnt bricks and situated in the most populous part of the city. From the numerous cuneiform inscriptions on bricks, the history of a Babylonian school has been deciphered. On one brick is inscribed the sentence, "He who learns to write well, will shine as the sun." The school-house contained seven rooms, where different studies were carried on. One was used

for grammatical exercises, another for the study of mathematics, arithmetic, and geometry. Considerable attention appears to have been given to the study of weights, measures, and instruments of precision. There is evidence, too, that the girls received much the same training as the boys, and legal instruments were found on bricks. The language and legal terms were by a learned woman named Amatbaon — the first female lawyer of whom we have any record.

A discovery of great academic interest was made by Sir John Evans in the island of Crete. From the ruins of the ancient city of Knossos, clay tablets have been unearthed which appear to show that the written characters thereon were evolved from picture writing on Cretan soil fully four thousand years ago. This discovery shows that Europe as well as Asia (Babylonia) in the second to the fourth millennium B. C. employed a method of writing on bricks. Similar finds have been made in Bœotia.

A party of archaeologists and antiquarians has made important discoveries in the hitherto unexplored region at the northern limit of the Harqua Hala range of mountains in Arizona. A great desert and the total absence of water have prevented any previous examination, and only Indians know of the curiosities of these mountains. One side of one mountain rises in terraces, and presents some features recalling the Grand Cañon of Colorado. The whole mass is of obsidian or volcanic glass, and glitters in colors of green, blue, and black. The exploring party found, under a high shelving rock, a narrow-necked earthenware jar, containing human bones, a broken hammer, and other articles used by the prehistoric races of Arizona. Slabs, turquoise stones, and other curiosities were revealed by digging, and on some of the buried rocks were certain markings supposed to be inscriptions. This mountain of glass is a marvel of volcanic upheaval, and is in about the precise condition in which the eruption left it. It is dangerous and difficult of ascent, owing to the precipitous terraces and the smooth surface.

Man's Place in the Universe

Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, who shares with Darwin the honor of first announcing the theory of natural selection, presented a startling theory in the March number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Assembling the latest astronomical knowledge and other scientific discoveries, Dr.

Wallace sought to re-establish the old view, to wit: (1) That the universe is limited in extent. (2) That it has a definite center, and that we are, and have been for millions of years, near that center. (3) That by reason of being at the center the earth has had an opportunity to develop humanity; and that probably nowhere else in the universe has there been this opportunity. Dr. Wallace's theory aroused a heated controversy and called forth a number of replies. The general opposition to his theory was ably summed up by Professor H. H. Turner in the next issue of the same periodical. Dr. Turner held: (1) That the limitation of the universe is not proved. The view had the support as lately as the middle of 1901 of so high an authority as Professor Simon Newcomb, but even in the intervening eighteen months new facts had come to light which weakened his arguments: (2) That there is no true center of the universe, even if limited, and even if there were, we could not occupy it for long. The path of the solar system in millions of years would be a large fraction of the dimensions suggested for the limited universe. (3) That no reason whatever has been given why life should not be developed in any part of the interior of even a limited universe, and that some reasons indicated for doubting whether it could be developed near the boundaries are not in accordance with accepted facts. The controversy aroused by Dr. Wallace continued to be carried on throughout the year, engaging the pens of eminent scientists, most of whom opposed his theories.

II

Keeping within the bounds of legitimate induction, Mr. F. J. Allen thus summarized all the evidence on the question "Is there life on other worlds?" (*November Popular Science Monthly*.) (1) If life is essentially a function of the elements nitrogen, oxygen, carbon and hydrogen, acting together, then it can probably occur only on exceptional worlds with conditions closely resembling those of our own earth. Such conditions are not present in any other world in our solar system, nor can they be expected to occur frequently in members of other systems. (2) On the other hand, if different conditions can awaken a capacity for exalted energy among certain other elements than those just named, then the universe seems to provide immense possibilities of life whose variety and magnificence may far exceed anything that we can imagine.

III

An important expedition was sent to Chile from the Lick Observatory in California for the purpose of studying the flight of the solar system toward the north. The precise object of the expedition was to examine the light of the southern stars, from which we are moving away. They have been much less studied than the northern stars to which we are drawing nearer. Since the only way in which we can become aware of the great flight of the solar system is by watching the countermotions of the stars, the expedition, having observed the effects of the system's approach to the stars ahead, proposed to change its point of view, in order to note the recession of the stars behind. Through a combination of such observations the speed and direction of the system's motion could be deduced. It was also hoped that many other absorbingly interesting questions relating to the organization of the universe and our place in it would be brought nearer to a solution by the exploration of the southern heavens.

Mars and Saturn

Astronomers beheld singular appearances on two of the planets, Mars and Saturn. At the Lowell Observatory in Arizona on May 25, 26, and 27, there was visible a projection of light extending in a long band over part of the planet Mars, where the surface was not illuminated by the sun. This was taken to indicate that the phenomenon was due either to a lofty range of mountains whose upper part was touched by the sunlight, while the valleys lay buried in darkness, or to an enormous cloud floating at a great elevation. Professor Lowell's conclusion was that it was a cloud composed not of water vapor, but of dust, resembling the dust clouds above the Sahara desert. It was rapidly dissipated, and after May 27 not a trace of it remained. The fact that this cloud must have ridden upon a wind having a velocity of sixteen miles an hour was cited to prove that Mars possesses an atmosphere which, though far less dense than ours, is of no inconsiderable extent. Professor Lowell found the cloud quite remarkable for its color; instead of being white it had a deep orange color, "closely assimilated in tint to the subjacent parts of the disc." This part of Mars lies within the tropics of the planet in the so-called desert region. Professor Barnard noted that the South Polar cap of Mars appeared to

diminish for some time after the summer solstice, implying that the highest temperature was not reached until several weeks after the maximum of solar heat.

II

Appearances on Saturn were observed on June 23 by Professor E. E. Barnard, who perceived a white spot a little north of the center of the great planet; also by Mr. W. F. Denning, of Bristol, England, who observed the same spot a little later and who, on July 9 discovered another brilliant white spot in the northern hemisphere of Saturn. Mr. Denning declared that the disturbance on Saturn affected a large area of its surface, and that he had never discovered anything of the same character in many years observation of the planet. The second spot observed by him lay adjacent to a dark belt and appeared to have a motion decidedly swifter than the rate of Saturn's rotation on its axis. The distance of Saturn from the earth being estimated at about 800,000,000 miles, it is evident that a cloud visible to our eyes, even with the aid of a powerful telescope, must have been one of enormous extent.

New Stars and Comets

On March 25th, Professor H. H. Turner, of Oxford, announced that a new star had been observed on a photographic plate of March 16th. The new variable was situated in the constellation Gemini, near to the border of Auriga. The magnitude of the new star was about 7. Professor Pickering, of Harvard, in instituting the search for this object on photographic plates noted that on March 6 there was an object of magnitude 5, decreasing until on March 25, it was only 8. Its spectrum showed the bright lines 3,889 to 4,852. The discovery was confirmed by others.

Harvard's astronomical authorities announced in April the discovery of a new star by Madame Ceraski, of Moscow. The new star belonged to a class known as the Algol variable, that is, it is partially bright, but occasionally is partially eclipsed by an intervening star. The period was one day, eight hours and thirty-four minutes, and the range of variability 2.4 magnitudes. The discovery of this star was due to the gift of Andrew Carnegie, which enabled the exhaustive study of the photographic plates in possession of the astronomer, and out of 250 or 300, covering the region in question, 30 plates were found

to contain impressions of the new star. G. Muller and P. Kempf observed a star of an unusually short period, 4 hours and 12 seconds, the calculation of this period being based on 180 observations. In the course of a year as many as twenty new asteroids were discovered, bringing the number of those known up to 506.

Borelli's brilliant comet discovered on June 21 by an astronomer of that name at Marseilles, though invisible to the naked eye at the time of discovery, became a conspicuous object in the evening sky of our latitude in the latter part of July. The nucleus was considerably brighter than a star of the fourth magnitude. A tail 4 degrees in length was visible to the naked eye. On the photographic plates a tail of some 10 degrees was recorded. The distance of the comet from the earth was at that time about 36,000,000 miles, and the length of the tail was approximately 6,000,000 miles. Spectroscopic observations showed that a large portion of its illumination was due to reflected sunlight, while other components were due to the presence of carbon and nitrogen vapors. The orbit of the comet was computed by Professor Perrine, who found that it was moving in a parabola. The point of nearest approach to the sun was reached on the evening of August 27 at a distance of 31,000,000 miles. Professor Atkin of the Lick Observatory announced the return of Brooks' comet on August 18. On January 15 a new comet was discovered by Giacobini at Nice, and on April 16 another new comet was discovered by Mr. John Grigg at Windsor, New South Wales.

Sun Spots

Astronomers were considerably interested in a study of sun spots which appeared during the latter part of 1900. During a lull in a severe storm of October 14, one small spot appeared on the upper or northern hemisphere of the sun, and a large group of spots on the lower or southern hemisphere. The changes in the system from day to day indicated an extraordinary activity on the surface of the sun. The area covered by the system was about one-twelfth of the sun's diameter in its greatest length, the betokening forces exerted in concert over distances of 100,000 miles or more. It was the general belief that these spots were the prime cause of the severe storms in October which coincided with their appearance. The telegraph and cable com-

panies were seriously disturbed, the wireless systems being the only ones unaffected.

M. Moreaux, the French astronomer of the Observatory of Bourges, made the following report on his observation of the phenomena:

"Recent works have clearly shown the periodicity of sun spots, the variations of the magnetic needle, and the changes in the diameter of the sun. We know, in fact, that there exists a fixed period in magnetic variations and in carefully examining the data we also see a like period, thirty-three years, the same as in the case of sun spots. Thus the activity of the sun has an intimate effect not only on terrestrial conditions of heat, etc., but also on magnetic phenomena, polar auroras, and normal and abnormal deviations of the electrical magnet. A very recent example is the spot of March, 1903. From the 21st of March the spot situated on the eastern side indicated an unusual disturbance, and I was able to predict magnetic storms for the day of its passage at the central meridian, that is, for the 26th of March.

"We come now to the 31st of October last, on which date we had very serious magnetic disturbances, causing a complete cessation of telegraphic communication. It is to be observed that sun spots are only visible during a half solar rotation, that is, about thirteen days, and it appears from the facts that a spot only exercises an influence on terrestrial magnetism at the time of its passage through the central meridian, from which it follows that the magnetic troubles can only be predicted six days in advance. In the recent case I was able to prophesy that magnetic perturbation would occur the 31st of October, resulting in a serious disturbance of telegraphic communication. These facts prove beyond question that the sun is the author of the phenomena, and there is no need of a repetition of the same facts to demonstrate a relation of cause and effect between solar disturbance and perturbations in terrestrial magnetic conditions."

II

Sir Norman Lockyer, the royal astronomer of England, collaborated with Dr. J. S. Lockyer and Mr. William Ellis in an investigation of the subject. Their conclusions presented a hypothesis to the effect that the regularly recurring periods of greatest activity in the sun correspond to certain meteorological cycles of the earth, suggesting that after a sufficiently long period of observation we might make reason-

ably reliable predictions of great practical value concerning the seasons. For example, there being a casual connection established between rainfall in India and sun spots, provision in fat years might be made against destitution in lean years, and thus the awful decimating horrors of the famine might be prevented. Their investigations promised more interesting results when prosecuted farther.

III

Professor Mitchell was successful in detecting in the chromospheric spectrum evidence that the gases neon and argon are present in the sun. Professor J. H. Poynting announced the application of Stephan's law of radiation to the calculation of the heat of the planets. Assuming the solar constant of radiation is 25 calories per minute, then the temperature of a body like the earth should be very near the average temperature of the earth, that is, 17 degrees centigrade. According to his calculation Mars must have a temperature between minus 20 degrees centigrade and 3 degrees centigrade.

A New Theory for Auroras

Mr. Charles Nordmann presented a new theory for auroras before the Academy of Science at Paris, namely, that auroras are due to Hertzian waves emitted by the sun. Owing to the defraction of the atmosphere Hertzian waves, especially of great length, pass around intervening obstacles. The waves of the space telegraph, for example, surmount the intervening convexity of the earth between two distinct stations. Mr. Nordmann observing that Hertzian waves had passed between Newfoundland and England, a distance of about 30 degrees on a great circle of the earth, argued that at the equinox polar aurora should be most frequent within 30 degrees from the pole, and that that had been found to be the case. That, he claimed, was the explanation of why auroras should be visible in the polar regions during the winter, although the ordinary rays of the sun do not reach them.

Ancient Astronomical Records

Professor Hilprecht announced the discovery during the excavation at Nippur of a library containing 150,000 tablets, many of them ancient astronomical records, about the year 2,300 B. C., records of great value in determining the status of astronomy at that epoch.

Precious Stones in the United States

A remarkable discovery of a new gem was made in California during the year. This new gem, an unaltered-lilac colored spodumene was named kuntzite, after its discoverer, Dr. George F. Kuntze, the well-known mineralogist and gem expert. The crystals are of extraordinary size, transparency and beauty, remarkably free from flaws, some of them weighing 17 troy ounces. They vary in color from a pale lavender to a rich amethyst. Their specific gravity is 3.183 and the hardness is 7. By the action of Roentgen rays Dr. Charles Baskerville, of the University of North Carolina, excited the crystal of the new mineral sufficiently to make it photograph itself when placed upon a sensitive plate and kept in the dark for ten minutes.

II

Professor William H. Hobbs, of the Department of Mineralogy at the University of Wisconsin, undertook important investigations to determine whether or not diamond fields exist in North America, and as a result of finding seven diamonds in the State of Wisconsin and adjoining states prepared a map showing the general location of what he believed to be a great diamond belt. Since these seven diamonds were not found in the kind of soil from which diamonds could be produced, Professor Hobbs concluded that the precious gems had been carried to the places where they were found by the movement of the great glaciers. The only kind of soil which can produce diamonds — the black shale around the neck of burnt-out volcanoes — was in the barren territory south of the Hudson Bay, and this volcanic region, according to Professor Hobbs, was the ancestral home of the Wisconsin diamonds.

The report of the geological survey on the precious stones of the United States announced the finding of a new locality for sapphires in Montana, the mining and development of the old beryl localities in Mitchell County, North Carolina, the opening of an amethyst mine in South Carolina, and the discovery of two new amethyst deposits in the State of Virginia, and the discovery of turquoise at two places in Alabama. The report valued the production of precious stones in the United States during the year as follows: Sapphire, \$115,000; beryl, \$4,000; emerald, \$1,000; tourmaline, \$15,000; peridot, \$500; quartz, \$12,000; smoky quartz, \$2,000; rose quartz, \$200; amethyst, \$2,000;

gold quartz, \$3,000; rutilated quartz, \$100; agate, \$1,000; moss agate, \$500; chrysoprase, \$10,000; silicified wood, \$7,000; rhodolite, \$1,500; garnet (pyrope), \$1,000; amazon stone, \$500; turquoise, \$130,000; chlorastrolite, \$4,000; mesolite, \$1,000; pyrite, \$3,000; anthracite ornaments, \$2,000; catlinite pipestone, \$2,000. This gives a total of \$318,300 for 1903, as compared with \$289,050 in 1901, and \$233,170 in 1900.

Volcanic Phenomena

Volcanic activity had not entirely subsided at Mont Pelée and La Souffrière. Professor Angelo Heilprin, of Philadelphia, after spending two months studying Mont Pelée, announced that a lava plug, evidently forced up from underneath, had made its appearance in the new cone. In formation it was a vast obelisk, nearly 1,000 feet high and 350 feet thick at the base, slightly arched or curved in the direction of the destroyed city of St. Pierre, giving the appearance of a monument erected by nature to the dead. The appearance of this monument on the summit of the volcano, and the conditions involved in its making were pronounced something unique in the history of volcanoes. An eruption of Vesuvius was reported on July 22, which increased steadily in violence for twenty-four hours. A stream of lava 8 metres broad and 1 metre deep flowed in the direction of Pompeii. There were occasional explosions attended by rumblings. The cone of the mountain was engulfed in the crater which rapidly filled with lava.

New Gases in the Atmosphere

The composition of the atmosphere, generally believed to be a relatively simple affair, presented some new and interesting features. Professor Hañn, the famous meteorologist of Vienna, presented at a meeting of scientists an exposition of all the newest discoveries on this matter. Professor Hann stated that to the known gases oxygen and nitrogen we must add argon, neon, crypton, xenon, and helium. Further experiments had shown the presence of hydrogen, an element vitally necessary in the composition of water but not previously considered in the make-up of the air. These gases have different physical properties, their density being very dissimilar, the lightest of all being hydrogen, compared to which helium is nearly twice as heavy, being 1.97; neon, 9.9-10; azot about 14; oxygen about 16; argon nearly 20; carbonic

acid gas, 22; crypton, 41; and xenon, 64. With such differences in density, it is evident that the gases are not present in equal proportions. With the knowledge of the properties of the different gases, of their weight and their liquefaction temperature, we may determine approximately what the proportion should be at different altitudes. In the high regions of our atmosphere hydrogen, accompanied by a little helium, reigns supreme, while the heavy gases which constitute the atmosphere in which we live and breathe exist only on the surface of the earth.

Color of the Sky

The commonly accepted theory that the blue color of the sky is due to the refraction of light caused by solid or liquid particles floating in the air was disputed by the American physicist, Professor Spring, who declared that in his laboratory experiments he had never succeeded in obtaining a blue color, the reflected rays of light always showing either red, yellow or violet. Purification in no case removed the blue tint from the air. After exhausting all physical means in an attempt to reproduce the blue color, Professor Spring concluded that the blue of the sky depends upon chemical conditions and that the color deepens as the observer rises above the earth.

Report of the Meteorological Committee

The International Meteorological Committee, appointed to investigate the general circulation of the atmosphere, published its conclusions in a report drawn up by the chairman of the committee, H. Hildebrandsson, the celebrated meteorologist of Upsal. The conclusions, all drawn from actual experiments were briefly stated as follows:

(1) Above the equator — more exactly above the thermic equator and the equatorial calms — there is present during the entire year an eastern current, with an average speed of thirty-seven metres per second.

(2) Above the region of the trade winds there reigns an upper contra-trade wind current from the southwest in the boreal hemisphere and from the northwest in the austral hemisphere.

(3) This contra-trade wind current deviates more and more to the right, and becomes a western current above the crest of the barometric maximum of the tropics, at which point it descends to feed the trade winds.

(4) The regions situated at the equatorial limit of the trade winds enter — according to seasons — sometimes into the trade winds, sometimes into the equatorial calms. Above them there is consequently an upper monsoon, the contra-trade wind in winter and the equatorial current of the east in summer.

(5) From the high pressure of the tropics the average pressure of the air diminishes continually toward the poles, at least into the neighborhood of the polar circle. Further, the air of the temperate zones is drawn into a vast polar whirlpool turning from the west toward the east.

(6) The sheets of the upper air of the temperate zones extend above the high pressure of the tropics and descend there.

(7) The irregularities which are found at the surface of the earth, particularly in the regions of the monsoons of Asia, disappear, in general at the height of the lower or intermediate clouds.

(8) We must entirely abandon the idea of a vertical circulation between the tropics and the poles, which has been believed up to the present in accordance with the statements of Ferrel and Thompson.

New Views of Matter

Considerable scientific interest was aroused by the address of Sir William Crookes before the International Chemical Congress in Berlin, in which he dealt with the possibility of reducing all the elements of matter to one, and ultimately finding this resolvable into a single form of energy. Speaking of the significance of the Roentgen and Becquerel discoveries and those of the Curies and others, he said: "All these observations find internal connection in the discovery of radium, which is probably the basis of the coarser chemical element. Probably masses of molecules dissolve themselves into the ether waves of the universe, or into electrical energy. Thus we stand on the border line where matter and force pass into each other. In this borderland lie the greatest scientific problems of the future. Here lie the final realities, wide reaching and marvelous."

The theory advanced by Sir William Crookes was in line with the discovery announced shortly before by Professor Stephen M. Babcock, of the University of Wisconsin, that the weight of an atom is inversely proportional to its inherent energy. Simply stated his theory is that



SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY
DR. CHARLES BASKERVILLE

ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE
DR. EMIL VON BEHRING

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the topics that were discussed at the meeting. The topics are listed in alphabetical order.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the actions that were taken at the meeting. The actions are listed in alphabetical order.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the resolutions that were adopted at the meeting. The resolutions are listed in alphabetical order.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the recommendations that were made at the meeting. The recommendations are listed in alphabetical order.

all atoms are the same, but endowed with varying kinds and qualities of energy, which give the atoms their varying forms. The theory advanced at Berlin, however, goes a step farther, supposing a possible disintegration of matter. "It is possible," concluded Sir William Crookes, "that formless nebulae will again prevail when the hour-glass of eternity has run out."

Discovery of Polonium

Another important announcement made at the Berlin Chemical Congress was the discovery of polonium, a new elementary substance, by Professor and Madame Curie, of Paris. The properties of the new elements were too little understood to determine the future usefulness of polonium, but scientists were inclined to the belief that it might be found to perform the functions of the so-called X-Rays far more powerfully, and without the somewhat cumbrous apparatus essential to their use. In a higher degree than radium, it possessed the property of shining in the dark, and although it was shown that actual particles were being shot out from it continually, this strange substance did not seem to exhaust itself nor to lose its luminous power.

Radium and Radio-Activity

Sir William Ramsay, Professor of Chemistry at University College, London, in a lecture before that institution, made the announcement that his experiments with radium had shown that that element had the power of changing by some subtle process into another element, namely, helium. He described how a long search into the problem of what becomes of the minute particles with which radium is always parting was eventually rewarded. Besides its other manifestations, he found that radium constantly gives off an emanation which behaves in all respects like a heavy gas. It could be collected in tiny flasks, measured, weighed, and used to display the characteristics of radium, but it was not permanent. In about a month it entirely disappeared. Catching this emanation in the act of vanishing Sir William Ramsay found that after it had been collected a couple of days its spectrum began to display the typical yellow line of helium; that in four or five days the helium lines grew brighter, and that in a week the spectrum of helium was blazing in the hermetically sealed tubes that had been filled with the

pure emanations of radium. In other words, one element had been observed to change into another. Continued investigation into the properties and characteristics of the radio-active substances, uranium, thorium and radium brought to light many interesting and illuminating facts.

Mr. Frederick Soddy, a collaborator of Sir William Ramsay, announced the property possessed by thorium and radium of imparting radio-activity to any body with which they come in contact. The excited activity was not found to last, but, just as in the case of the emanation noted above, it disappeared in the course of time. The half value in the case of thorium was reached after a lapse of eleven hours, and in the case of radium after a few minutes. Thus radium gives a long-lived emanation, producing a short-lived activity. In thorium, just the opposite result obtained. Mr. Soddy established that the power of thorium to give its emanation is, like its power of radiating, the result of a process which is spontaneous and which it is not possible to control or alter to a measurable extent by any known agencies. Even the life of the emanations was unaffected by the most diverse circumstances. The experiments of Sir William Ramsay and Mr. Soddy, and the discussions aroused by them, emphasized two points: First, the continual production of an active matter of a new kind; second, the decay of the activity of the matter so produced with time.

II

Experiments made by Mr. R. J. Strutt led to the conclusion that radium is at least 100,000 times more active than uranium, that uranium is 3,000 times more active than the most common active material among ordinary substances, that a slight amount of a radio-activity is associated with all solids, and that the so-called "spontaneous ionization of air" is due to slight activity of the walls of the vessel containing it. To test this view Mr. Strutt experimented with a glass cylinder closed at one end by a plate of glass, cemented, and which could be removed so as to introduce linings of different materials. He found rates of leakage varying from 3.3 scale divisions per hour in the case of tinfoil to 1.3 in the case of glass coated with phosphoric acid. In platinum the rate of leakage for different samples was 2.0, 2.9, and 3.9 divisions per hour. Thoroughly oxidized copper showed a rate about three-quarters that of polished copper.

III

At a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Charles Vernon Voys, president of the physical section, declared that the discoveries regarding radium transcended all others in intrinsic importance and revolutionary possibilities. "Its everlasting production of heat, which can barely be distinguished from perpetual motion, has left every chemist and physicist in a state of bewilderment." The members of the Association held to two general theories to account for the phenomenon: The old one of conservation, to the effect that radium is slowly losing the amount of energy it gives off; and the new one that, in some mysterious way, radium catches and transmits energy from the outside.

IV

Professor Arthur W. Goodspeed of the University of Pennsylvania, exhibited photographic negatives which gave the outlines of small objects as produced by the radio-activity of the human body. To accomplish this result he used a Crookes tube as an intensifier, but directed the rays of the tube away from the box containing the photographic plate. His own hand was then held near the plate for three minutes, and the objects that had been set on the plate were shown in the resulting negative. Dr. Goodspeed's experiments showed that this radio-activity was only transient, ceasing as soon as the current ceased in the tube. They illustrated very clearly the action of the secondary or induced rays. All objects in the vicinity of the X-Ray tube became active under the influence of the secondary rays.

Theories of Evolution

A Dutch naturalist of international reputation, Hugo de Vries, announced a new theory of evolution. He proposed to substitute what he called "the theory of mutation" for the old hypothesis of natural selection. He denied the possibility of the gradual transformation of the species by the addition of various insensible aspirations. He claimed that such variations are produced by a rapid, precipitate and sudden process, the new species whose creation he has observed being produced by what he calls "spasmodic process." The eminent naturalist claimed that his theory was based entirely upon experience, and that he did not hesitate to oppose it to the Darwinian theory. As the

best proof of his theory he offered a record of his experiments with the onagre biennial. This plant was sown in the botanical garden of Amsterdam and was observed from 1886 to 1900. In 1887 a new type appeared, in 1888 two new species, and in 1900 in eight generations de Vries obtained out of 50,000 plants which came from seeds 800 new individuals belonging to seven unknown species. Thus we have 800 individuals out of 50,000, which are undergoing the process of specific transformation. The activity of the change which this plant underwent was about 1.5 per cent. The new species in no wise resembled the old, they appeared suddenly without preliminary or intermediary.

II

On the other hand, Dr. J. L. Wortman, who had spent three years conducting researches in the Marsh collection of fossil vertebræ in the Peabody Museum at Yale, presented newly discovered evidence in support of the Darwinian theory in a series of papers in the *American Journal of Science*. In discussing the development of monkeys to the point where it became possible for man to branch off, Dr. Wortman opened up several entirely new avenues of evidence, to prove that the monkey mind evolved from that of the lower types of animals, both by the influence of habits of attention, brought about by the ability to examine objects with the hands, and by the more vigorous blood supply to the brain afforded by the cerebral blood circulation peculiar to the higher types of the primates and to man himself.

III

A prominent German anthropologist, Dr. B. Hagen, announced a theory that the change in man from his original shape took place in Europe. He based his conclusion on his discovery near Krapina, in Croatia, of ten skeletons, the flesh of which had evidently been eaten by cannibals. Dr. Hagen judged from the appearance of the bones that the speech muscles were only slightly developed in those persons, and that they could not speak, as language is understood now. They had huge heads, broad faces, with flat noses, strong masticating bones and muscles, short legs, and arms of medium length, and the greater part of their bodies was covered with coarse reddish hair.

New Plants and Animals

The discovery of a new parasite was announced at the zoological station at Naples. A number of distinguished scientists had collected from the Mediterranean Sea quantities of a certain fragile mollusk called phyllishœ, a shellfish lacking a shell, transparent and colorless, but dotted over with phosphorescent patches making it luminous at night. There was noted a peculiar structure depending from its lower side that was not understood until the specimens had been given a more careful examination, when it was found to be not a part of the mollusk at all but a separate organism attached to it. This parasite was pronounced to be one of the jellyfishes, and the first instance of parasitism known among them.

A new plant was discovered in South America containing a considerable quantity of saccharine matter. The plant was of the species *Eupatorium, cannabinum*, herbaceous, from 8 to 12 inches high, and said to yield a sugar from twenty to thirty times as sweet as ordinary cane or beet sugar.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR AGAINST DISEASE

Wonderful cures effected by the light treatment discovered by Dr. Niels R. Finsen, of Copenhagen, had aroused so great interest in America that the year 1903 was marked by an influx of American doctors into the Danish capital. At least seventy-five American doctors from all sections of the United States visited the Finsen's Medical Light Institute at some time during the year. Many of these physicians purchased Finsen lamps with a view to establishing institutes for the treatment of skin diseases by Dr. Finsen's method. Eight American patients were treated at the institute during the year with satisfactory results. The American doctors who remained in Copenhagen a sufficient length of time to make a thorough study of the work of the institute declared that, while the principle of the light cure is simple, the actual work of administering it is a slow process.

Finsen's Medical Light Institute, established in 1896, had become a State Institution in 1903. According to a report published in May, of 1,367 cases received for treatment up to that date, at least 1,000 were lupus vulgaris, one of the most disfiguring diseases known. Other diseases treated and cured during the same period were: Lupus erythematosus, 92 cases; alopecia areata, 77; epithelioma, 60; acne vulgaris and rosacea, 62; nævus, 44; tuberculosis verrucosa, 22. Of the lupus vulgaris cases 51 per cent were apparently cured, 24 per cent almost cured, 11 per cent decidedly improved, 5 per cent unsatisfactory, while 9 per cent disappeared from observation. Lupus vulgaris is a disease little known in the United States, though quite common in Denmark, Germany and northern France, in which countries it is claimed that one person in ten thousand is afflicted with this disease. This disease is caused by the growth of tubercle bacilli in the skin. It has its inception, as a rule, in catarrh. Poor sanitary conditions and a moist climate

help to breed it. For every male victim there are three females; men not being so susceptible to its ravages because they are more in the fresh air.

Finsen institutes were already established in various centers, in London, Paris, Berlin, and in different places in America. Dr. George G. Hopkins was the first to introduce the Finsen treatment into this country. As early as 1899, after studying under Dr. Finsen himself, he first treated lupus cases from all parts of the United States and Canada. Later cases of internal, abdominal tumor were successfully treated by him. Dr. Hopkins found that the Finsen ray used in combination with the X-Ray was very effective in cases of cancer of the skin; also, in one case of deep seated cancer of the breast, he successfully used the X-Ray to break down the cancerous tissue and kill the bacteria and then used the Finsen tube to heal the open sore which resulted. After two years there had been no return of the growth. Cases of abdominal cancer were treated with like results. Dr. Hopkins further found that the Finsen light was very useful in removing birthmarks, giving no pain and leaving only a white scar, which eventually faded out. Other American physicians were inclined to the opinion that the Finsen light would prove of great service in the treatment of malignant cancer.

New Treatments of Cancer

At a meeting of the Academy of Medicine held in Paris, June 9, Dr. Albert Robin announced that two physicians of Lille had cured a case of cancer of the stomach with X-Rays. Following that notable success these same physicians had eradicated three cancerous tumors, the longest treatment being twelve applications of the rays. At the same time, Dr. Robin stated that other physicians had failed in their treatment of cancer of the stomach by X-Rays. At the Thirty-Second Congress of the German Society of Surgery, Dr. Perthes, of Leipzig, stated that, while cures of superficial cancer by means of radiotherapy had been noted by thirty-five physicians, the question was still far from being settled. As a result of his own experiments Dr. Perthes concluded that the action of the Roentgen rays on tissues, particularly on epithelial cells, was very decided. In one case of deep seated cancer the treatment was followed by almost complete disappearance of the

cancerous tumor. He found that the action of the rays was manifested only after the seventh or twelfth day, the effect being cumulative. At the same Congress another German physician, Dr. Kuemel, announced that while he had observed cases in which cancer had been cured by the use of X-Rays, on the other hand, he had seen X-Rays produce cancer. Dr. W. Scheppengrell, of New York, announced what he declared to be the first case on record of a cure of malignant disease of the larynx by the X-Ray. After the twentieth exposure the patient showed a vast improvement, and six months later the larynx was in good condition, and the case of cancer considered cured.

An announcement from Vienna that cancer had been definitely cured by radium attracted world-wide interest, and experiments were instituted straightway in other countries. Dr. W. H. Dieffenbach of the Flower Hospital, in New York, began a series of experiments, but obtained no definite results by the close of the year.

Adrenaline, a new and powerful medicament, an extract of the suprarenal glands, was used with great success in France in treating cases of external cancer. Its application was found to arrest quickly any flow of blood, while repeated applications destroyed, or partially cured, malignant growths. Dr. Fiessinger reported a cure of one case by injecting twenty, then thirty, then forty drops of adrenaline solution with great success; also partial success of its application in a case of cancer of the breast. Two successful applications in case of tumor, and a number of satisfactory experiments with external cancers were also announced. In all cases in which it had been tried, it had seemed to modify the progress of cancerous diseases, even when it could not cure them.

Better Understanding of Tuberculosis

New knowledge of tuberculosis was the result largely of experiments to reproduce artificially the process by which Nature in some cases cures herself of the tuberculosis germ. Dr. Emil von Behring, of the Hygienic Institute, of Marbourg, Germany, claimed to have demonstrated the practicability of vaccinations against tuberculosis. After fifteen years' research, the famous bacteriologist abandoned the Roux method for the Pasteur method; that is, he employed the microbes themselves instead of their toxins, innoculating calves with the tuber-

culosis microbes in progressive doses until the animal became immune. The animals received toxic injections of increasing virulence, each of which made the creature a little sick, but did not kill it, and each time after a period of sufficient repose the calf was capable of resisting stronger doses until complete immunization took place. The vaccination was accomplished by the injection of a very small amount of virus of human origin, which had been kept for eight years. The vaccinated animals proved entirely immune against infection, to which they were exposed for more than a year, and no tuberculous lesions were discovered when the animals were slaughtered. Further experiments convinced Dr. von Behring that the milk of cows treated with intravenous injections of tuberculosis growths contained anti-toxic substances, which acted upon tuberculosis just as the Roux serum acts upon diphtheria. He therefore concluded from this that such milk might be considered as a vaccine, and that if given to a very young infant, it ought to vaccinate it against tuberculosis in the same way as the vaccine of a heifer preserves it against smallpox. It will be clearly seen that Dr. von Behring's discovery was a long way from being a "cure for consumption." All that its discoverer claimed for it was the means of protecting the body against the onset of tuberculosis.

At the International Medical Congress held in Madrid Professor Edoardo Maragliano of Genoa, Italy, delivered an address on the struggle of the body against tuberculosis and its immunization. In this address the Italian physician related his success in determining the natural means the body possesses and employs to combat this disease, and the means by which one can create in it an artificial immunity against consumption. He claimed that he had succeeded in preparing a material which would cause, when inoculated under the skin, a tuberculous phlegmon, and by means of a series of inoculations human beings might become immune.

II

A most important discovery was announced in the report of the British Tuberculosis Commission composed of Sir Michael Foster, Dr. G. S. Woodhead, Dr. Sidney Martin, Dr. C. Macfadyen and Mr. Robert Bruce. The Commission set themselves to answer the following questions by means of experiments: (1) Whether the disease in animals and man is one and the same; (2) Whether animals and man can be

reciprocally infected with it; and (3) Under what conditions, if at all, the transmission of the disease from animals to man takes place, and what circumstances are favorable or unfavorable to such transmissions. In their experiments they injected calves and cows with every variety of the human tuberculosis disease and other calves and cows with all varieties of bovine tuberculosis. They carefully compared the results of the diseases and found that both in its broad, general features, and in its finer histological details, the one disease was identical with the other. They had so far failed to distinguish one from the other, though at the close of the year they had made use of more than two hundred animals, the experiments being carried out at Stansted by the permission of Sir James Blyth. "Our results," said the commissioners in their conclusions, "seem to show quite clearly that it would be most unwise to frame or modify legislative measures in accordance with the view that human and bovine tubercle bacilli are specifically different from each other, and that the disease caused by the one is a different thing from the disease caused by the other."

III

The much disputed point regarding the intercommunicability of human and bovine tuberculosis had created much discussion and various experiments had been tried and reported which threw light on the subject. Ravenel had proven that human tuberculosis can be transmitted to cattle and he believed the converse to be true and that these two diseases are manifestations of one and the same cause. Fibiger reported forty-one successful inoculations of cattle with human tuberculosis in sixty-one attempts. Unfortunately the time element necessary for the development of this disease allowed accidental contamination to occur even though great care was taken. These errors made an otherwise logical conclusion faulty and left the question still in doubt.

A new remedy for consumption called sanosin was announced at a meeting of the Berlin Medical Society, in a thesis prepared by Dr. Danelius and Professor Theodor Sommerfeld. The new system of treatment consisted simply in the inhalation of, or fumigation with, the combined fumes of eucalyptis, sulphur and charcoal. Sanosin was put up in sealed glass tubes, each containing a dose of about two grams.

IV

Beneficial results attending the outdoor treatment of tuberculosis were specially emphasized during the year. At a large gathering in Pittsburg of the most prominent physicians of Pennsylvania the interest centered in the following formula given by one physician for the cure of tuberculosis: "Eight hours a day in the open air, unless the weather is so inclement as to make this a practical impossibility, a plain, healthy diet consisting largely of milk and eggs, and the exercise of proper precaution against infection from the germs of the disease." The physician based his prescription upon the success of his fresh air treatment in the White Haven colony, a small sanatorium among the Pennsylvania hills, where from May until December most of the patients live in tents. The medical records of Pennsylvania were quoted to show that 6,000 of its population annually die from tuberculosis. Another center of the disease in America is in Massachusetts, where in forty years it has claimed over 200,000 victims. In the heart of this second center at Rutland and at Sharon, two open air colonies for consumptives had been established on a similar plan to that of the White Haven community in Pennsylvania.

The idea of tent life for consumptives had gained ground in Colorado, where Dr. Mansfield Holmes had experimented successfully, first in Denver, then in its suburbs. In 1903 he had secured a sheltered mountain tract near Wellington Lake for the purpose of establishing a tent colony with industrial opportunities for the benefit of needy patients. Dairying, cattle raising, gardening and other enterprises to meet the needs of colony life, were designed to furnish light and diversified outdoor employment. Another tent colony was projected by the Colorado Young Men's Christian Association. A farm near Denver was purchased and an effort was made to provide it with the necessary equipment. Here it was also planned to offer light outdoor employment to the many hundreds of young men in incipient stages of consumption who go to Colorado yearly seeking health.

Early in the year the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis connected with a Charity Organization Society of New York submitted the plans of a sanitarium and tent colony for New York's consumptive poor. It was decided to inaugurate a tent system at some distance from the city as soon as a suitable site could be selected. It was estimated

that half the tenement house population in New York was more or less affected by tuberculosis, presenting one of the most difficult problems with which the Department of Charities had attempted to cope.

Typhoid Theories

A new theory regarding the growth, transmission and prevention of typhoid fever was announced by the famous Dr. Koch of Berlin — a theory directly at variance with that generally accepted in all countries, Germany excepted. Dr. Koch stated that typhoid contagion almost always results from direct contact with a person suffering from the disease. He asserted that the purity of water and milk supply is a matter of small importance, and accordingly, the most important thing to do at the outbreak of an epidemic of typhoid is to isolate the patients. He further asserted that "The bacillus of typhoid, like that of cholera, is a parasite of which man is the necessary, though unwilling habitant, and its life outside of man a secondary consideration." Dr. Koch's opinion met with very little favor when presented to the British Association of Physicians and Scientists. After presenting his theory, however, Dr. Koch continued his experiments, and was later able to announce that observations on a larger scale proved the correctness of his contention, that typhoid contagion between ill and healthy persons is not only possible but frequent, and is the means by which epidemics of the disease are spread. The health authorities of Germany were so thoroughly convinced of the correctness of his position that they co-operated with him in carrying on his investigations in Treves, where seventy-two cases of typhoid were discovered. Here progress made in the eradication of the disease by isolation of the patients seemed to confirm the opinion that the purification of water and food supply is not sufficient prevention against the spread of the disease.

II

A new treatment of typhoid was announced by Dr. Macfadyen, of the Jenner Institute, at a meeting of the Royal Society of Great Britain. Dr. Macfadyen found that by crushing the microscopic cells of the typhoid bacillus the intracellular juices could be obtained apart from the living organism, and that these juices were highly toxic. By injecting them in small and repeated doses into a living animal its blood serum

was rendered powerfully anti-toxic and bactericidal. In other words, it became an antidote alike to the living typhoid bacteria and to the poison which may be extracted from them. The serum proved curative of typhoid fever when already established, as well as protective against typhoid infection.

H. E. L. Caney (in the *Lancet*, December 27, 1902) reached the following conclusions:— That unless all the water avenues to an army or camp have been protected, it cannot be assumed that the incidence of typhoid fever is due to air-borne agencies. That it is impossible to affirm that the water avenues are closed unless the sterilization and distribution of the water are done by specially trained men. In Indian military experience the evidence of air-borne typhoid is not clear, while in South Africa and Egypt it is opposed to this theory. In fact, these three countries give evidence clearly in favor of the water theory, especially at the outset of the epidemic, while the air-borne germs would play but a minor part and only when there is great neglect. Epidemics as such always start from water origin.

Blood-Serum Therapy

Two discoveries by French physicians, Drs. Martin and Calmette, seemed destined to revolutionize the treatment of diphtheria and typhus. Previously anti-diphtheritic serum had been obtained from immunized horses; that is, horses which had been inoculated either with living diphtheritic bacilli or with the toxin of these latter. Dr. Martin conceived the plan of inoculating these horses with dead diphtheritic microbes which had been killed by heat, and in examining the serum obtained after this injection. Dr. Martin said that the serum contained a new substance called *sensibilisatrice*, which possesses the power of agglutinating the diphtheritic bacilli. If this serum be brought in contact with the bacilli their vitality diminishes and they soon present a manifest degeneration. Dr. Martin had observed that when the throats of diphtheritic patients were painted with a brush dipped with his new serum, the false membrane containing the bacilli was dissolved and loosened much sooner, and at the same time the number of bacilli diminished. Owing to the fact that such applications were painful, Dr. Martin mixed the serum with gum, from which he made pastilles that melt in the mouth, and answer the same purpose as the use of the

liquid serum. Another interesting use for these pastilles is on the prophylactic side of medicine. The only way by which the members of a family — in which a case of diphtheria had appeared — could obtain immunity was by a preventive injection of serum, but now a half-dozen of Dr. Martin's pastilles will do the same work.

Dr. Calmette transformed his anti-tetanic serum into a powder, which placed upon a wound acted in the same way as an injection under the skin; this powder keeps indefinitely its anti-tetanic property. Another Frenchman, M. Wasserman, discovered a new anti-diphtheria serum, which not only exercised anti-toxic action but was a bactericide as well. The new serum was obtained from rabbits which had been treated with a series of intravenous injections of an extract of the bacilli of diphtheria, this extract being obtained according to the method of Dr. Koch in the preparation of his new tuberculine.

The Causation of Yellow Fever

The investigation of the Yellow Fever parasite was still being pursued vigorously. Various attempts at finding the specific organism had not proved successful except in part. Marchoux, Salimbein and Simond, who composed the Pasteur Institute Commission, came to the following conclusions, all of which would have bearing on further investigations. They concluded that the serum from the patient in the third day of disease is virulent, while on the fourth day, even when the fever is high, the blood no longer contains the virus. One-tenth of one cubic centimeter of a virulent serum injected under the skin suffices to produce yellow fever, while the virus placed on a blistered area does not give the disease. If the undiluted serum of a patient be passed through a Chamberland Bougie B, the virus fails to accompany it, while a Bougie F. allows the same to pass. The poison preserved in the air at a temperature of from 24 to 30 degrees centigrade becomes inactive after forty-eight hours.

If defibrinated blood, protected by vaseline, is kept at the same temperatures the virus is alive at the end of five days, but is not so at the end of eight days. Heating the poison for five minutes at 55 degrees renders it innocuous. Also they found that a patient, when previously partially immunized by inoculation with serum heated to 55 degrees C., was injected with a very small quantity of virus the

immunity became complete. The injection of defibrinated blood kept in the laboratory under vaseline during eight hours at least, gave a relative immunity. The serum of convalescent patients had definite preventive properties. Immunity, confirmed by injecting the serum of convalescent patients, was still appreciable at the end of twenty-six hours, because the serum of convalescents appeared to possess therapeutic properties. They found that a mosquito, in order that it may transfer the disease, must feed on a patient during the first three days of the disease and that this insect does not become dangerous until after twelve days have elapsed since its feeding on the patient. An ineffecutal bite by an infected mosquito does not confer immunity. In Rio Janeiro, as in Cuba, none of the mosquitoes other than the *stegomyia* cause yellow fever. The fomites do not cause infection, and in fact other than by direct inoculation the mosquito seems to be the only cause for the disease. Hence where there are no *stegomyia* yellow fever is not contagious, and our sanitary precautions have to deal with this special insect. They were unable to find the parasite either in the patient or in the mosquito.

It is interesting to know that the *stegomyia fasciata* is found along the Atlantic seaboard and in the Mississippi Valley as far north as Cairo, Ill. The Pacific Coast seems to be entirely free. This does not preclude their being carried by trains and ships. They seem to be limited to those areas which are inhabited by man; they propagate in clear water such as cisterns. The eggs have been kept alive for ninety days and freezing does not harm them.

New Germs

The commission appointed by the Royal Society of Great Britain to investigate a disease in Uganda, known as the "sleeping sickness," made public a report showing that the malady is essentially a chronic form of meningitis produced by the presence of a germ, and that it is communicable from person to person through channels not clearly demonstrated. One physician belonging to the commission obtained evidence to show that a parasitic protozoan was present in the cerebro-spinal fluid of patients suffering from the sickness. Other members of the commission believed they had found evidence that the infection was carried by a species of Tsetse-fly. The duration of the

disease varied from one month to six ; it developed more or less slowly, listlessness passed into coma, and coma into death, recovery or cure being practically unknown. Nearly 200,000 deaths from the " sleeping sickness " were reported.

Professor E. T. Councilman, of the Harvard Medical School, announced his discovery of the smallpox germ, in the shape of a protozoan, the first development of which appeared to be in the pustular eruption. This being the first demonstration of the existence of an animal parasite in an eruptive disease, its discovery gave promise of many interesting observations along similar lines. It remained to be explained just how the organism entered the body, by what route it was carried to the local but disseminated lesions of the skin, and the various stages of development that it passes through during this complicated process. The conclusion of Professor Councilman that the cause of smallpox and vaccina is a microscopidium, is in accord with the interpretations of other and earlier observers.

New Methods

An American physician, resident in Canton, China, Dr. Adolf Razalg, announced the successful demonstration of a remedy for leprosy. The treatment was administered to four patients, three of whom returned to their work perfectly cured. The treatment included medicated baths and a wide range of drugs and chemicals used in various stages.

In the hospitals of Vienna there was adopted a new surgical procedure which produced some remarkable results. The method invented by Professor Mosetig was that of filling holes in bones produced by certain diseases exactly in the same way as cavities in the teeth are filled. Professor Mosetig dropped into the bone cavity a melted mixture of iodoform, oil of sesame and spermacetti, the cavity being plugged completely. At a meeting of the Vienna Medical Society several cases of cures by this method were reported.

Purpose of the Rockefeller Institute

The Board of Directors of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical and Pathological Research published plans indicating that the institution was to have a wider and more important scope than was generally supposed. The immediate work included: (1) The erection of

a laboratory in which would be conducted investigations in all departments of medical research by a large resident staff. (2) The building of a hospital in which special groups of patients would be treated in order to develop new methods. (3) The establishment of a journal for the publication of the results of the institute's investigation and discussions concerning them. The ultimate plans looked to the establishment of popular lectures for spreading information on hygiene, the institution of a hygienic museum, and the dissemination of literature bearing on all problems investigated. Mr. John D. Rockefeller had already donated \$1,200,000 for establishment of the institute, and it was understood that the founder would provide all the funds for its maintenance, and for carrying out the plans of the directors on a complete scale.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

A review of social conditions year after year is largely a review of the same old disorders and the efforts to find new remedies for them: Poverty and the struggle for its alleviation, crime and the measures for its punishment and prevention, drunkenness and the movements to stamp it out or to control it, unwholesome living conditions and the schemes to better them, unfair working terms and the proposals to set them right, unjust distribution of wealth and the attempts at equalization, destroying tendencies in family and social life and the efforts to check them, and finally the underlying cause of all disorder, ignorance and the manifold educational movements to counteract it.

The Problem of Poverty

The above problems, moreover, are not the problems of any one country, but the problems that all civilized nations have in common. Take, for instance, the problem of poverty, which will be found to vary not in kind, but in degree, and largely according to the wealth of nations. The total wealth of the world has been estimated at \$400,000,000,000, which is probably an underestimate of the actual amount of money and property in civilized and semi-civilized lands. Of this the greater part is owned by Americans and Europeans. The United States has somewhere near one-fourth of the whole. The United Kingdom of Great Britain is the richest country of Europe. The annual income of England's population is said to be \$5,600,000,000, and the yearly savings \$1,948,000,000. When it comes to estimating wealth per capita, the English are the best off financially of any people in the world, and the Scotch next. The four other countries that have the most wealth per capita are Australia, France, the United States, and Denmark. After England and Scotland, Australia is the richest country in the world in proportion to its population. The distribution of

national wealth, however, scarcely affects the question of poverty as a social evil.

Poverty is not, and never was, a force in national character building. It is the poor peoples who are crushed and oppressed, ignorant and superstitious, weak and helpless. The poor races are never great, strong, and characterful. The whole trend of civilization from the earliest times and in every clime and country has been to get away from poverty, and every step away from poverty toward greater wealth, comfort, leisure, and convenience has been, and is, a step toward higher civilization. President Eliot, of Harvard University, in addressing an audience of workmen at Lynn, Mass., said that nobody was ever injured or hindered by working as many hours as his physical strength could endure. In direct contradiction to this doctrine factory legislation restricting the working hours of women and children was urged as contributing to character development and the social uplifting of the working people.

The social value of the rich, on the other hand, was manifested in two ways: In introducing into domestic and social life all improvements that art and science can contribute, and in setting a higher standard of living for those who come next in the scale. The multitude of improvements that the rich have introduced in architecture, sanitation, domestic decoration and appointments, have practically revolutionized the average homes in this country during the last generation. Improvements that are at first too expensive for anybody but the rich themselves are adopted, and then by that power of imitation characteristic of progress, they are adopted by others nearest to them in the social scale. By this increased use it becomes possible to commercialize them, and so make them cheap enough to come within the reach of millions. But while the influence of wealth in extending culture and sanitation should be recognized, it should not be confounded with the evil effect of the dominating passion of the age to acquire property.

As to the direct effect of riches on American life, Mr. Ralph D. Payne collected some interesting and illuminating figures for the *World's Work*. One of the first effects was the great and healthy increase in out-of-door sport and recreation in the last twenty-five years. Nearly \$10,000,000 were spent for sporting goods in 1903, as

against \$2,000,000 twenty years ago. The increase and cost of country homes and estates was attended by an improvement in taste of the manner of living. Standards in architecture, interior decoration, and landscape gardening were higher, and the tendency of the very rich to herd together for the sake of vulgar ostentation was on the wane. The growth in industry, sobriety, and ability to make economic gain, has outstripped the waste expenditure in unproductive luxury. The increase in population during the last decade was 22 per cent., while the increase in direct savings was 80 per cent., showing that the increased expenditure for luxuries had not caused a decrease in productive efficiency.

Benefactions

The obligations of rich to poor were never more widely recognized than in 1903. In making up the list of benefactions for the year the statistician was compelled to rely upon gifts for public or semi-public purposes. On this basis it was found that more than \$76,000,000 went to charity in the United States alone, of which over \$40,000,000 was donated to our colleges. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, following his own theory that a private fortune is a public trust, established one hundred and five libraries, an average of two a week, at a total cost of over \$5,500,000, and his record of known benefactions for the year was almost \$16,000,000. \$1,500,000 went to the Hague Tribunal, \$4,000,000 was turned over to provide a fund for steel workers, \$2,500,000 to the improvement of Dumfermline, Scotland, his old home; \$1,000,000 for an engineers' home in New York City; \$600,000 to Tuskegee Institute, and a number of smaller sums for various other causes. Of the \$8,944,597 of donations credited to John D. Rockefeller during 1903, the largest sum, \$6,000,000 went to Rush Medical College, and \$1,800,000 to the University of Chicago, with which the Medical College is now affiliated, nearly \$300,000 to six small colleges, and \$160,000 to the Young Men's Christian Association. Mr. Pulitzer's gift of \$2,000,000 to establish a school of journalism at Columbia University aroused more comment than any other gift of the year. Gordon Mackay's bequest of \$4,000,000 to Harvard, and Arioch Wentworth's bequest of \$7,000,000 to found an industrial school were disputed by the heirs of the deceased. Henry C. Phipp's gift of \$1,500,000 for a free hos-

pital for consumptives was the most notable of the gifts to pure philanthropy.

Philanthropic gifts made in the United States showed a steady progress both in their volume and in the wisdom of their aims. The largest sums went for the alleviation of suffering, or for work that gives promise of alleviating it. Hospitals and medical research, and the charities that attend them received larger sums than any other general purpose. This is a sane and well-balanced judgment. The strongest human impulse is to relieve suffering, and the best application of science is to prevent it. This is sound sociology, as well as good personal conduct. Twenty-five years ago there were but four hundred and forty-two hospitals in the United States. In 1903 there were two thousand five hundred hospitals, having a total bed capacity of over three hundred thousand, or one bed to every three hundred and fifty inhabitants. There were 4,000 institutions providing hospital care, New York heading the list with 350 institutions providing a bed to every one hundred inhabitants. California came next with 125 institutions, with one bed to every hundred and twenty-five. The lowest on the list was Georgia, with thirty-five small hospitals, and only one bed to every fifteen hundred people. Illinois, with 200 institutions, and one bed for every 250 people, was an average State.

Needs of Organized Charity

There was noticeable a widespread sentiment to secularize charity, since modern charity is on such a colossal scale that to finance it is almost like financing a big corporation. Under our system, charities conducted by the State must be undenominational and without direct religious control. The State and City are all the while assuming larger and larger charitable functions. The work of relief, of reform, of care for the crippled, the blind, the insane, which used to be almost exclusively left to private hands or to the churches, is now taken over on a constantly enlarging scale by the public authorities. The report for the year 1903 of the recommendations of Governors of States, of State Boards and Commissions for legislation affecting the charitable and correctionable institutions of their respective States, recognized the following needs: In California, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Wisconsin, hospitals for the criminal insane were recommended; in California,

Massachusetts, and New York the establishment of special hospitals for the curative treatment of acute cases of insanity was under consideration. In Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Pennsylvania the establishment of colonies for epileptics was urged. Sanitariums for consumptives were recommended in Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan and New Hampshire. The establishment of reformatories for women and youthful offenders was urged in Connecticut, Missouri, New York and Tennessee. Juvenile courts were desired in Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan and Missouri, and the establishment or extension of the probation system was urged in Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan and Tennessee. The drift toward the establishment of boards of control was noticeable. The Governor of Colorado recommended greater power for the State Board of Charities, and the State Board of South Dakota recommended its re-organization as a board of control with three salaried members.

II

Growing out of the work of Christian missions, but in no way connected with it, were a number of organized charities in Japan, supported and controlled by the Japanese people themselves. The most prominent of these was the Oka Zama Orphanage, which in 1903 was caring for 236 children in three handsome dormitories, the Kobe Orphanage caring for 70 children, and the Osaka Orphanage, where the home idea prevails. In connection with the large government prisons at Hokkaido, a fine work was done during the year by Mr. Kosake Tomoeoka, who had made a special study of criminology in America, and who, in addition to his work in the prisons, opened a home for wayward boys in a suburb of Tokio. Work for discharged convicts was carried on in other places and a large number of benevolent societies were organized for more efficient service.

A Hindoo philanthropist of Bombay set aside from his personal fortune during the year the sum of \$5,000,000 with the intention of devoting it to a "charity trust," for the purpose of relieving the great suffering caused by the unexpected disasters so often visited upon India. The founder planned so to invest this fund that the suffering may be immediately relieved without the delays that have characterized these conditions in the past.

One of the most conspicuous examples of success in the organiza-

tion and administration of a charitable institution for the sick poor was the Philadelphia School for Nurses, a branch of the Philadelphia Supply and Medical Dispensary, which administered to the sick poor in all sections of the city through agencies of churches and other benevolent organizations. Over one hundred young women, representing the best families of Philadelphia, enrolled in the volunteer organization for extending immediate, practical, and sufficient help to the poor in the care of their sick. Moreover, a movement was inaugurated to establish schools throughout the Southern States, and in connection with the schools in the mountain districts a sanitarium for persons predisposed to tuberculosis.

Self-Help

Another method of relieving the poor was the plan for the encouragement of small savings, which eventually resulted in the penny provident fund, or stamp-saving societies, scattered all over the United States. In 1903 there were 100 societies patronizing the central office in New York alone. Under a system adopted by the factory of John B. Stetson in Philadelphia, thrift and economy were encouraged by maintaining a savings fund in which 5 per cent. interest was paid. In a few department stores similar schemes were tried. O'Neill & Co. of New York established free medicinal service through a Mutual Aid Society to which each employee pays ten cents a week. At Wanamaker's a benefit society was inaugurated, the membership in which is compulsory. A certain small proportion was taken from the wages of the employé once a month to provide for the sick and injured. The store also provided a graduate nurse in constant attendance, and a doctor, either at the store or within a few minutes' call. His services were rendered without cost to the patient. A weekly allowance was made for those who cannot work.

Preventive Measures

Certain movements for the benefit of the poor may be looked upon as preventive, rather than remedial, notably all work done for children. Probably in no city was this idea carried farther than in Paris, where numerous organizations take care of the child from the time of its birth and insure the mother every aid and comfort. Lying-in Hospitals, and infant asylums, scattered all over the city of Paris, did all in

their power to encourage child-bearing among the poor, and to make child-rearing as easy as possible for them. Orphans were cared for by the city until the age of thirteen. This service for children was greatly extended during the year 1903 by various statesmen calling attention to its importance in building up the French nation. Probably the most extraordinary of these institutions for children was the workshop established by a philanthropic city counsellor for the benefit of crippled children, where boys and girls suffering from almost every form of inherited or accidental deformity were provided with suitable employment, and paid in proportion to their earnings.

A report of Dr. Barnardo's work among the children of the London slums showed that for the thirty-six years ending July 31, 1903, comfortable homes and honest employment had been found for 50,781 children picked out of the slums and the gutters. The record further showed that less than three per cent of the rescued children had gone to the bad. It is estimated that ten per cent were failures, that is, lacking in energy, industry and intelligence necessary to make much headway. Thirty to forty per cent had not passed beyond the lot of a laborer or servant, but could still be commended for honesty, industry and fidelity. Forty per cent had become valuable citizens, most of them farmers and mechanics who had accumulated money, married well, provided themselves with homes and raised useful families. From five to ten per cent had entered the professions as clergymen, lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers, and upon the list were found the names of several eminent men and women who had reached high stations in society. For the year ending July, 1903, 16,052 waif children had been dealt with: 10,578 of these had applied for admission to the Home, 2,293 were rescued from utter destitution, 9,785 were maintained, clothed, fed and educated during the year, and of these 3,501 had never known homes or proper food and proper treatment. In addition to this, 11,268 children were fed during the year, 42,996 were furnished free lodgings, 1,406 were found permanent homes or situations, and 1,053 were sent to the British Colonies, principally to Canada.

The idea of finding homes for children seemed to gain ground in the United States and to show greater advantages than caring for them in institutions. In Massachusetts, in the year 1903, 397 families applied for children at the various institutions for orphans.

Old Age Pensions

France's commission of the National Old Age Insurance Bureau published a report on its operations from the years 1851 to 1903. During that time the total number of depositors was 2,447,727. The number of payments 40,088,255, amounting to \$261,562,000; other receipts \$158,400,000; making the total receipts \$420,041,340. The report showed that the payments made into the bureau in the year 1903 alone were \$32,259,564. A comparison with 1902 shows that while the payments increased in number, they decreased in value about \$35,000, proving that large depositors are becoming fewer, while those who intrust the bureau with their small savings are increasing. As formerly, among the new depositors the men outnumber the women, the proportion being about sixty to forty. Among the direct depositors the first rank belonged to the bachelors and spinsters, at 59 per cent, followed by married people at 33 per cent, by widows and divorcees at 6 per cent. The whole number of new depositors for 1903 was 178,720.

Statistics of Crime

Criminal records for the year in various countries of the world presented interesting conditions of increase and decrease. In Italy crime increased from 1,142 cases per 100,000 inhabitants in the preceding decade, but it should be noted that while misdemeanors doubled, felonies increased only 33 per cent., and homicides decreased nearly one-third. Statistics pointed to the fact that violent crimes were decreasing in Italy, but that there was an increase of less serious offences against the authorities as well as an increase in cases of fraud. Crimes of theft and against public morals were practically at a standstill. In France, new laws and new institutions succeeded in diminishing crimes, especially among habitual and juvenile criminals. In Spain, criminality had not increased, while in Austria juvenile depravity had grown alarmingly throughout the Empire. In Germany was noted a more precocious criminality, a greater amount of fraud on the one hand and a diminution in the more serious offences on the other. The report of the Commissioners of Prisons for Great Britain showed increased activity of police, growth of vagrancy and of offences against workhouse regulations, a greater number of charges for drunkenness

and assault and increase in the number of debtors. The total convictions for the year were 16,074. The list of crimes in the United States compiled for 1903 showed 8,852 criminal homicides, an increase of 1,000 over the year before. A report made to Congress by Dr. Arthur McDonald in support of a bill to provide for a laboratory for the study of criminal, pauper, and defective classes showed that there was reason for believing that crime of all sorts was increasing in the United States, and that the symptoms of degeneration were most marked in that section of the country which offered the greatest opportunities for education and general development, that is, in the north Atlantic States.

Spread of Juvenile Crime

The career of four youthful bandits captured in Chicago brought forth some rather alarming facts regarding youthful depravity and criminality in the United States. Instances were multiplied of premeditated and ingenious crimes committed by persons under the legal age. This alarming state of things was not confined to the United States. In the Netherlands the startling amount of criminality among children and minors aroused the interest of many thoughtful people, who inaugurated the plan for solving the difficult problem by more practical means than those employed by the government, which consisted simply of prisons and houses of correction. A society called "Pro Juventute" was organized to fight against and to prevent crime among young people, by examining carefully all cases that came before the criminal courts in which boys or girls were involved, and by taking care of minors whose actions were of questionable character. In case the youthful delinquent is acquitted the Society helps him to procure a situation. If surroundings in a city are such as to preclude hope of lasting improvement, the child is sent to the country, the expense being largely borne by the Society, although a contribution is exacted from the parents. The child is taken care of by some cottager or farmer on payment of a small stipend for his board.

Juvenile crime in France, more especially in Paris, also led to the formation of a society and the organization of several admirable institutions to take care of the youth who, if not fit for prison, were still unfit to be let loose on society. In 1903 there were twelve improved

houses of correction in France to which criminal lads could be sent; six were to all intents and purposes agricultural colleges, while six others were devoted to town trades. The state also supported three houses of correction for girls, and in addition to these public reformatories there were twenty private reformatory schools. One important point, characteristically French, was that every effort was made to keep the children in touch with their homes. Once a month they spent one Sunday with their parents, and once a year four weeks with them, provided, of course, the parents were respectable.

Youthful offenders in England gave thoughtful-minded persons serious concern, and led in one prison to an experiment in educating them in the paths of virtue. The prison commissioners of Dartmoor Prison, which contained forty-six boy convicts in 1903, tried the plan of picking out thirty-two of the youngest convicts and, after careful consideration of their records and apparent dispositions, forming them into classes by themselves, and teaching them how to earn their living at trades to which they are best suited. The first year of the experiment was not, of course, fraught with any great results beyond showing a disposition on the part of nearly all the boys to respond to demand made upon them, and to take an interest and pride in their work. The increasing number of child tramps in England, most of them the children of tramps, led to the adoption of a plan by several boards of guardians for the treatment of vagrants, the main features of which were that any tramp found by the police should be apprehended, and unless he could prove that he was earning his living in a legitimate way, should be liable to imprisonment in a labor institution. Upon the second conviction of parents for vagrancy, the children were to be removed to a state school and detained there till sixteen years of age at the expense of the state. The inefficiency of reformatories and prisons for all classes of offenders was recognized in many countries.

Inefficiency of Punitive Institutions

Señor Lombroso attacked the penitentiary system on the ground that it had no influence over the class it was especially intended to reach, save to intensify their predisposition to crime. The prison, which is considered as a preventive of crime, only serves to make it more frequent in teaching the prisoner disgust for work, and by taking

from him the exercise of his own will. An English writer on the same subject pointed out that in one year nearly 87,000 offenders were re-convicted in Great Britain. Of these, more than 11,000 had been previously convicted more than ten times; 10,000 had been convicted more than twenty times, and some had been convicted a hundred times.

Dealing with the Drink Evil in France

The necessity of checking the growth of drunkenness in France was so deeply felt that a congress was held in Paris in October to discuss the means of eradicating the evil. This Anti-alcoholic Congress adopted resolutions that the number of saloons should be restricted by law; debts for liquor sold by the glass should not be legal; that the proprietor of a saloon should be held responsible for crime committed by a person, or persons, who had become intoxicated in his saloon; that the courts should declare the forfeiture of paternal authority in all cases where habitual drunkenness shall have been proved; that prefects should exercise more frequently the right conferred upon them by a law passed in 1884 to close saloons. A spur was doubtless given to the widespread endeavor to combat the growth of alcoholism by the fact that a company controlling unlimited capital had been formed recently in France to furnish spirits at a price defying competition.

Dr. Debove in his opening speech declared that France had the disgrace of ranking first among the alcoholic nations. Official statistics bore witness to the truth of this statement. In 1903 France had 456,553 saloons to supply the wants of 38,660,306 inhabitants, or one saloon to 83 inhabitants. During the previous ten years the consumption of alcohol in France had increased in alarming proportions, while England and the United States had progressed toward temperance. Liverpool had closed one-third of its saloons during the same decade, and so decreased her police force in consequence as to have made an economy of \$40,000 yearly. Sweden and Finland had also made marked progress in temperance. The annual quantities of alcohol consumed per capita gave France 4.81; Switzerland, 3.3; Belgium, 2.75; Italy, 2.7; Denmark, 2.69; Germany, 2.44; England, 2.35; Austria, 2.26; Holland, 1.74; United States, 1.37; Norway, .069; Finland, .053; Canada, .051.

Alcohol taxation was a burning question in the French parliament.

and the agitation took the familiar form of a temperance campaign. Bills were posted throughout Paris setting forth the dangers of drink and results to the user. The distillers retaliated with threats of law-suits. In parliament there was a proposition to revoke the privileges of the French moonshiners, a privilege having its origin in a law passed a hundred years ago, in 1806. Up to that time the peasant who kept in his house the product of his vineyard, without attempt to sell it, was free to do with it as he chose. This condition was left in full force up to the passing of a law in 1900 forbidding the privilege. To do away with the evasions of this law, the same treatment was demanded for the peasant winemaker as for the distiller by profession.

Another feature of the temperance campaign was that waged by the "Society for Lecturing in Prisons" in sending lecturers to address the prisoners on the evils of drunkenness. The lectures were given in an immense hall, on one side of which, reaching almost to the roof, were what look like steps, but on closer inspection prove to be rows of boxes with openings about four inches high, through which could be seen the heads of the audience. In this strange manner the prisoners were enabled to see the lecturer, but are prevented from holding communication with one another. These lectures against drunkenness were believed to have had some influence on the diminution of crime. M. Thiry, professor of the University of Liege, persuaded the government to permit him to lecture in prisons with reference to the mis-use of drink. He reported the best of results. The self-respect of the prisoners was awakened, they were led to reason on the causes of their imprisonment, and were mentally aroused.

Great Britain's Temperance Law

Great Britain's drink bill showed the substantial decline of \$25,000,000 in the year 1903. Analysis of the returns to the United Kingdom show that Ireland consumed per head but little more liquor than England, and Scotland nearly twice as much. The consumption of distilled spirits in the United States was nearly 40 per cent more than in Great Britain, while the consumption of malt liquors in Great Britain was nearly 40 per cent per capita greater than in the United States. That of wine 33 1-3 per cent greater in the United States than in Great Britain. A Tory measure in the interests of temperance reform

advocated by the great prelates of the Church of England became an operative law in England in 1903. The law was particularly severe in those provisions requiring the restraint of habitual drunkards, forbidding the sale of liquor to all such persons, and seeking to check the growing evil of drunkenness among women. The act allowed the granting of judicial separation from drunkard husbands or wives. The new law seemed to go farther toward promoting general temperance than any legislation heretofore enacted in England. In one London court, where the drunk and disorderly cases generally averaged about forty a day, the number dropped to less than fifteen. Even in the worst section of London the effects of the act were marked. Medical authorities in London were particularly exercised over the growing habit of indulgence in alcohol by women. This evil seemed to attack the two poles of society. The richer classes seemed to find amusement in giving way to secret drinking, while the poor sought solace in the rum bottle. It was hoped that the systematic legal restrictions might help to lessen inebriety among women.

Prohibition in the United States

While New Hampshire and Vermont exchanged prohibition for high license, in many of the Southern States a prohibition movement was in progress, a movement proceeding by counties, towns and neighborhoods, not by States. It was a white man's campaign, supported by voters from both the Democratic and Republican parties. In Arkansas the sale of liquors was prohibited in forty-three out of seventy-five counties which had voted no license. Where a license could be procured it cost \$800.00. In Kentucky, prohibition became the law in forty-seven counties, partial prohibition in fifty-four counties, while in only eighteen counties the liquor traffic was unrestricted. "It is no longer genteel to get drunk in Kentucky," was one of her citizen's comments on the situation. Mississippi had voted prohibition in sixty-five out of seventy-five counties, Georgia in one hundred and three out of one hundred and seven counties, while in North Carolina a new law prohibited saloons, except in incorporated towns that voted otherwise. In Tennessee there were twelve counties with saloons, and eighty-four dry counties. In Texas there were two hundred prohibition counties. Alabama, Florida and Maryland had local option laws, and many

counties in Virginia voted against legalizing the liquor traffic. Ten Southern States gave their voters the opportunity to cast their ballots against licensing the manufacture or sale of liquor, and one had a State monopoly.

A radical step in the direction of total abstinence was taken by the Wabash, the Rock Island, and the Alton railway companies and the Western Electric company of Chicago, in giving notice to their employees that the use of alcohol and cigarettes is prohibited under the penalty of discharge. The electric company also forbade gambling and immoral conduct generally.

The German nation seemed to awake to a sense of the fact that its consumption of alcohol was both excessive and deleterious, and the agitation for temperance reform gained strength. In Russia temperance societies, the result of private initiative and government subsidy, organized 1,715 tea houses, 998 lecture halls, and opened a number of theatres. The government, which is the sole manufacturer and dispenser of spirits in Russia, had in 1903 established 30,000 shops for the sale of liquor, employing 65,000 people, and earning gross receipts \$508,000,000.

Bettering Labor Conditions

Labor conditions presented some serious features during the year and various plans were proposed for the reconciliation of labor and capital. Providing workmen with more or less luxurious accompaniments to labor seemed to do little towards establishing better feelings between capital and labor or towards settling the issues between them. The schemes for profit sharing and coöperation were accompanied by varying degrees of success. The most far reaching plan for profit sharing was that of the United States Steel Corporation announced on the first day of the new year.

A Great Profit Sharing Scheme

The directors of the Steel Corporation offered 25,000 shares of stock to their 168,000 employees. The books were to be kept open 30 days and when they were closed on the evening of January 31 it was found that the 25,000 shares offered had been subscribed for more than twice over, 27,633 employees having subscribed for 51,125

shares. One-sixth of the employees of the corporation declared that they wished to become owners of the securities of the company for which they worked. Fifty per cent. of the subscribers were men who received salaries from \$800 to \$2,500 a year. Forty-four per cent received salaries at less than \$800 and only about six per cent belonged to the class of high salaried officials. Gratified by the success of their project the directors of the corporation voted to allot a total of 45,000 shares among the subscribers, and thus the one-sixth of the employés of the corporation became purchasers of the preferred stock to the extent of \$4,500,000 par value, of which sum \$4,000,000 was taken up by employees whose earnings ranged from \$500 to \$600 per year. The corporation announced its intention of making another offer of stock the following year and prophesied that ultimately the great bulk of its securities will be diffused among its employés.

Another part of the profit sharing plan of the Steel Corporation was to stimulate individual initiative and to overcome the tendency to stagnation which would destroy such a vast organization. For that reason, the company proposed to distribute among its responsible men one per cent of the net earnings, if the net earnings during 1903 should exceed \$80,000,000 and be less than \$90,000,000, and to increase the sum distributed one-fifth of one per cent for every \$10,000,000 added to the net earnings. The net earnings having reached the total of about \$140,000,000 the sum distributed among the men who helped to make that great success was \$3,150,000. By giving its employés opportunity and inducement to save their earnings and invest them in the shares of the company, by making even the humblest workman an indirect participant in the profits of the concern, by setting aside a share of the profits for annual distribution, and by taking the public into confidence through full and frank reports of all its operations, the Steel Corporation pointed out a path to establishing right relations between labor and capital.

Raising the Standard of Living

An international congress was held in Paris in the autumn of 1903 to discuss the best means to maintain and extend the work of allotting plots of ground to workmen for the purpose of cultivation. This congress was attended by prominent philanthropists and leaders in social

and religious work from France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. Plans were discussed for extending the work which was by no means a new one. The evil of intemperance had so undermined the health and usefulness of workmen that this means was sought of interesting them in such healthful employment outside of work hours as should bring them increased comfort, and attach them to the soil which they cultivate. According to reports, France had created 6,137 gardens which had provided sustenance to 43,000 persons. These gardens were established either by charitable societies or by groups of philanthropic employers associated for that purpose. Belgium reported 600 gardens in which plots had been allotted to 3,000 persons. The congress discussed whether the laborer should derive full profit from the land cultivated or pay rent for his cottage, reserving to himself the surplus. French delegates leaned toward the adoption of the full charity basis, while the Germans inclined to view the matter strictly from the point of social preservation and thought it wiser to demand a small return for the grounds allotted.

II

A new movement came into existence during the year contemplating the establishment of large industrial enterprises in so-called garden cities. In England a company was organized to develop an estate of 3,800 acres between Hitchin and Baldock, an hour's ride by rail from London. The estate was purchased at an expense of \$750,000. Mr. Ebenezer Howard, the promotor of this Garden City, organized a company capitalized at \$1,500,000, with 59,400 shares at \$25.00 each, and 3,000 at \$500 each. On the Board of Directors were well-known industrialists and philanthropists, like Messrs. Cadbury and Lever, whose own experiments at Bourneville and Port Sunlight respectively, had given great impetus to the idea of removing factories from crowded cities. The company was formed to develop the Hitchin estate and the promotion of social improvement. It undertook to procure on the lowest possible terms a supply of power, light and air, while a control of the site from the commencement would provide ample open spaces and allotments of ground at a low rate. Employers by moving their works from London to Hitchin would enable their work people to enjoy healthy homes, outdoor sports and other features of wholesome living which eventually must

have a far reaching effect on both the character of the workman and the quality of the work done. Mr. Howard believed that an extension of his scheme would solve the two vital problems of overcrowding the cities and depopulation in the rural districts. An admirable plan was prepared for laying out a town which would occupy the center of the state. The scheme provided for 30,000 persons. Part of the estate was intended for factories to be placed on sidings connecting them with the railways. Cottages were to occupy not less than one-twelfth of an acre of land each. The movement was extended to France, where under the leadership of Georges Benoit Levy and under the patronage of the greatest French manufacturers, a Garden City Association was organized with headquarters at Paris.

III

Another scheme for the betterment of its employees was the settlement built by Vickers Sons & Co. on an island off Furness in Lancashire, England. The island contains about 12,000 acres, with ample room for promenades and playgrounds, about one thousand houses, comprising a town comparing favorably with the 400 houses in Bourneville and the 600 in Port Sunlight. The first advantage of Vickerstown was the low rent, varying from \$1.25 to \$2.25 a week, including rates and taxes. The town had its shops, many of them on a coöperative principle. Free sites were granted for churches of all denominations, and there are two schools. For open air recreation were football and cricket grounds, bowling greens and golf links. There was an institute for the encouragement of scientific and literary pursuits, and a public house on Lord Gray's trust principles.

Workingmen Helping Themselves

The foregoing are notable examples of efforts on the part of employes to help their employés. There are many other examples of efforts on the part of workingmen to help themselves by various organizations and various coöperative measures. Coöperative associations were more active in Italy than elsewhere. Tuscany reported one association for every 11,000 inhabitants. In Florence the limited companies for the purpose of building houses for workmen accomplished their mission in a gratifying way, coupling their own interests with those of the working people. In Florence were 39 associations

of mutual help embodying every line of trade, artists, employees, etc., besides a similar number of benevolent institutions for the sick and poor. In England some rather discouraging facts were brought to light in the management of many co-operative societies. It was found that the committeemen in charge of the stores received bribes, directly or indirectly, from the representatives of manufacturing concerns, who wished to sell large orders of goods.

Coöperation among producers is an old story in California, but among consumers it is yet in its early stages. The sessions of the Pacific Coast Co-operative Union held at Oakland found that the movement had grown a little stronger. Fifty-two local coöperative stores were scattered throughout the State with a wholesale house in San Francisco. The Los Angeles co-operatives reported an institution that does a monthly business of \$8,000. The coöperative dairies of the Middle West, the union of the wheat growers of the prairie States for the building and joint ownership of local grain elevators, and the successful organization on the eastern shore of Virginia for the coöperative selling and shipping of the produce grown in that district show that coöperation among farmers has passed the experimental stage. A number of failures during the year pointed to the fact that the coöperative industrial group as a rule succumbs to the capitalistic industrial group, because the latter is primarily a fighting organization.

Labor further sought to help itself through its existing organizations, the unions. Some large manufacturing establishments offered shares of stock to their employés at tempting prices, while certain labor unions proved that they could go into business for themselves. In the metal polishing and plating department of the great Eastman Kodak Works, at Rochester, N. Y., when a shut-down was imminent, the workers started a polishing and plating plant of their own, and secured the profits to themselves. The trade unions were augmented by the organization of recent immigrants. The growth of the women's trade union movements and labor organizations among boys and girls of the mines and mills further emphasized the spread of unionism. In Germany were noted three classes of trade unions, the free, or Social Democratic with 678,181 members; the German with 100,000 members; the Christian with 175,000 members, the three

giving a total of 1,000,000 members. Trade unionism had even extended to China, where every industry was a simple but effectively organized guild.

In Germany stringent factory regulations were passed during the year. Children could not be employed under the age of thirteen, and for children from thirteen to fourteen years old the hours were limited to six a day with a half hour's interval for meals. For the year preceding the total number of children employed under fourteen was 9,454. Women could not be employed between half past eight at night and half past five in the morning, nor after half past five on Saturdays and the eves of holidays. Factories where women and youthful workers were employed must be visited once in every six months. This law enacted March 30, 1903, was the last link in a long chain of legislation aimed against the abuse of infant labor, and seemed to complete the protection of children from industrial exploitation. Child labor had heretofore been beyond control, especially that found among home manufacturers. The latter employment embraced by far the larger number of children held to labor, statistics showing that only 27,000 German children under fourteen years of age worked in the factory plants, while 532,000 under that age were engaged in industrial pursuits outside of factories, thus comprising six per cent of all German children of school age. The law in question differentiated between employments in which children's labor was absolutely prohibited and such as admitted the labor of children under fourteen years of age, certain restrictions and safeguards being observed. Prohibited trades comprised building operations of all kinds, brick yards, certain classes of manufacturing establishments, the breaking of rock, chimney sweeping, hauling or teaming, grinding or mixing of paints, and work in cellars and vaults.

Increased Wages

An investigation by the Department of Labor into earnings and cost of living in the United States showed that from data secured from 2,567 families the average wages increased more than 16 per cent., keeping pace with and in some cases distancing the cost of living. The railroads were the most prominent participators in a movement to increase wages. The increase on five of the most important systems

amounting to \$43,000,000 a year. A number of manufacturing concerns also increased wages. The H. C. Frick Coke Company employees were notified that an average increase of 8 per cent in wages would go into effect, in which more than 20,000 employees would share. The Bessemer Coke Company announced an increase of 8 per cent. The Wells-Fargo Express Company of from 5 to 10 per cent. In Germany the general business depression did not greatly reduce wages. In Spain the position of the laboring classes seemed to be growing worse, wages decreasing and the cost of living increasing.

Strikes of the Year

The report of the anthracite coal strike commission made public in March gave a 10 per cent increase in wages to all employees from November 1, 1902, when the commission began its labors to April 1, 1903, when the general war took effect. Other provisions were (1) eight hour day after April 1 for engineers who hoist water (2) 5 per cent increase in pay and Sundays off for other engineers (3) eight hour day for firemen; nine hour days instead of ten hours for other employees; (4) an increase of 1 per cent in wages to all employees for each five cents added to the price of coal free on board at New York harbor; (5) an accountant appointed by a Federal Circuit Judge to determine the price monthly; (6) establishment of a permanent board of conciliation composed of six members, the operator in each of the three districts to appoint one, and an organization representing the majority of said miners in each district to appoint one. In case of a deadlock an umpire to be appointed by a Federal Circuit Judge. (7) All strikes and lockouts forbidden, and the decision of the board made absolute.

The iron manufacturers of Saxony succeeded in forming a mutual insurance society to indemnify its members for losses occasioned by strikes. The indemnity assured was one mark per day per thousand of the salary stated as the annual one for a duration of time not to exceed one hundred working days. In Denmark an act became operative in 1903 providing for an arbitration court at Copenhagen where employers and employees could adjust their differences. The King could by decree determine that witnesses might be summoned and required to testify just as in an ordinary court. All inhabitants were subject

to call as witnesses. Decisions handed down by the President of the Court could be appealed in accordance with the rules governing appeals from an ordinary lower court.

The arbitration law of New South Wales had been in operation over a year, and it was found that so long as its decisions were in accordance with the wishes of employees there was no resistance, but whenever a decision was adverse to them they showed a spirit of resistance. In April the Colliery Employees Federation brought action against the company for which they were working asking more favorable terms from the court than were given them by the Company. The case was tried by the court and a decision rendered under which the men began to work, but finding that they made less money by the scale fixed by the court than they had formerly made they resolved not to work any longer and 400 miners refused to abide by the order of the court. This, it was claimed by the employers, was clearly a rebellion against law and order. The conduct of the strikers was brought before the court and a decision rendered that the employers had their remedy in a prosecution for damages of the men who refused to work. In a general way, the employers hold that it is incumbent upon a union whose officials profess to be loyal to the court to expel all of its members who are not.

A unique strike prevailed in the south part of Italy, where the physicians, lawyers and landholders went on a strike threatening the very peace of the nation, since it was nothing more than an attempt to suspend the processes of government through a refusal to participate in any way in any of its functions, the object of the refusal being to force the accomplishment of the reforms mentioned in Chapter VII.

Civic Betterment

Great improvement in municipal affairs was admirably set forth in the German Municipal Exposition held in Dresden from May 20 to September 20, 1903, devoted exclusively to illustrating municipal development. One hundred and twenty-eight German cities participated, displaying their advancement in two main sections, the first disclosing the condition of municipal life in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century and its development in recent years, the second bringing together a collection of appliances and manufactures

produced by German firms for municipal purposes. The eight general departments comprised: (1) Public streets and public places including street construction, mains, lighting, tramways, bridges and harbors. (2) Town expansion, including housing. (3) Public art. (4) Public health and safety. (5) Education. (6) Charities. (7) Public finance including municipal trading. (8) Municipal statistics, including the regulation of public employment. Berlin appropriated \$17,000 for models exhibiting its public baths, its new overhead and underground electric railways, its most approved schoolhouses, including a manual training school, and one of its school gymnasiums. Hamburg sent a model of its harbor and docks with their general mechanical equipment. Nuremberg showed models of a new hospital, a school bath and a new municipal theatre. Cologne exhibited in the same way a people's park, and Breslau a school garden. The second main division contained a great variety of practical appliances.

A new field of work for civic betterment in New York led to the organization of the council for civic coöperation composed of about thirty civic educational, social and philanthropical societies in New York each represented by one delegate. The Civic Improvement League of St. Louis in its first annual statement reported 2,000 members, and much good accomplished, notably by children's playgrounds with public baths, by which over 14,000 poor children profited during the summer. The League was an active factor in a "Keep Our City Clean" movement, which resulted in improving the appearance of St. Louis both from an æsthetic and sanitary point of view.

A decided movement toward municipalization seemed to gain ground in Italy. A most notable experiment was that of many cities in municipalizing bread, that is, the assumption on the part of local authorities of baking and distributing the bread consumed within their limits. Perugia undertook the ownership and operation of both a mill and a bakery; Foreli a bakery, and Katania had the greatest measure of success in its municipal bakeshops. The three chief advantages secured were good quality of bread, a low price, and an actual profit to the city.

Immigration Records

In 1903 the United States was on the crest of the greatest wave of immigration we had ever known. In April the Hamburg-American

Steamer *Pennsylvania* broke all previous records by bringing 2,731 steerage passengers to New York in one day. In June the *Batavia* surpassed that feat with 2,854. Until 1903 the immigration of 788,990 in 1882 stood for the highwater mark, but 1903 gave us between 850,000 and 900,000 new inhabitants, the bulk of them coming from Italy, Austria and Russia.

The alien immigration question assumed commanding proportions in England. A royal commission submitted an inclusive and unsatisfactory report made so by one of its members who favored unrestricted immigration. An immigration Reform Association was organized to render efficient the widespread feeling in favor of checking the invasion of undesirable aliens. It was estimated that there were nearly 200,000 foreigners in London alone. Of 267 shops in one road, 142 were occupied by aliens. Another serious problem that England had to contend with was finding employment for its own population, which resulted in sending out many of its boys to the colonies, within the last quarter of a century, 45,000 children having been sent to Canada. It was urged that the competition caused by the alien made it necessary to send out the bone and sinew of the nation to new countries to make its living. During August a conference was held at Cork to effect the organization of an Irish Anti-Immigration Society, and to take steps to prevent the depopulation of the island. Many of the speakers declared that the idea of immigration to America had become a sort of mania among the youth.

Family Problems and the Status of Women

A few problems relating to the progress of the home and the family, the status of women, the strength of family ties, and certain homemaking and homekeeping enterprises, deserve attention in this chapter. Probably nowhere was greater progress marked in bettering the condition of women than in Japan. The abstract legal new woman was created by the new civil code of Japan, which allows a woman to become the head of a family and exercise authority as such. She can inherit property and manage it herself. She can exercise paternal authority. She can act as guardian or curator, and she has a voice in family councils. Looking more particularly into the provisions relating to marriage, divorce, etc., we find that the marriageable age is

seventeen full years for men and fifteen full years for women. Marriage takes effect when the notice of the fact is given to a registrar by both parties with two witnesses. The right of marriage is not free, since man or woman can marry only with the consent of the head of his or her family. There are two ways of effecting divorce, either by arrangement, that is, by simply having the registration of marriage cancelled, or by judicial divorce which may be granted on several grounds specified in the code. The new code further sanctions concubinage by stipulating that an illegitimate child may be recognized by the father or mother by giving notice to the registrar.

Equality of sex seems a more accepted fact in Finland than elsewhere. In no European country are the rank and file of women so well educated. In the universities they are admitted on the same terms as men to study science, art and medicine. In 1903 many of the women won honorable degrees in the high schools, the Lyceum, and the universities. Among two hundred and twelve fellows that composed the Royal Geographical Society of Finland seventy-three were women. In the celebrated Vasa Lyceum School the women divided both honors and numbers with the men. In the government service there were as many women as men. In marriage the husband and wife shared one another's property, and the equality of estate was the same as equality of labor, and of privilege. Marital infidelity was as much censured in man as in woman, and divorce was rare, only the most flagrant sins rendered it possible.

A radical change in the position of women was made in the new civil code drafted for Switzerland by Dr. Eugene Huber of Bern. The legal matrimonial age is twenty years for women. The only prohibitions of marriage are between relatives. The code gives the woman full civil capacity, the right to exercise a trade or profession, and to dispose as she pleases of the fruits of her work. The bill provides for the formation of a fund for the benefit of the wife, the fund being composed of her effects, her savings, her personal or real property, and the fruits of her work. All the possessions of the wife and the husband form a common collective fund from the time of marriage, and he is forbidden without the wife's consent to dispose of any part of her portion. The new code names insanity as a cause for divorce, and divorce is also granted where there is a radical impos-

sibility for two parties to live together, and for the customary causes of adultery, excesses, abandonment, etc. The power of the father, which was formerly limitless, is, under the new code, exercised by the father as the head of the family, and by the mother in the sphere of her legal privileges. A child at sixteen years of age has a right to choose its own profession and fix the conditions of its own life.

In the United States, according to existing laws in 1903, in thirty-seven states, a married mother had no right to her own children; in sixteen states a wife had no right to her own earnings outside of the home; in eight states a woman had no right to her own property after marriage; in seven states there was no law compelling a man to support his wife and family. In these respects even Russia was in advance of the United States. For two centuries every wife in Russia has been the legal mistress of her own fortune; in 1903 every woman householder in Russia had the right to vote on all municipal matters. While thousands of little girls are employed in factories in the United States, the work of women in the fields of Russia was not so arduous, nor so detrimental to race progress as the indoor work of women in the United States. In 1903 over 9,000 wives were deserted by husbands in the United States to 500 in Russia.

The 1,500,000 women in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland enjoyed more liberal general suffrage than did 150,000 women in the United States. In Great Britain, however, there was noted a decided tendency to withhold women from the professions. The denial of Miss Bertha Cave's application for admittance as a student of Gray's Inn was made by the House of Lords on the ground that no precedent existed, and that there was no occasion for creating one. On the other hand, there was no law against the practice of medicine by women and every advantage of study offered to men is open to women also. According to the census of 1903 there were 212 women physicians fully qualified, registered in England and Wales, and altogether 249 in the United Kingdom. The new hospital for women, founded by a woman, was entirely officered by them and the Royal Free Hospital admitted women as house surgeons.

A movement was started during the year by a Turkish princess, Haririe Ben Aiad, aided by her husband, for the emancipation of Turkish women. The Princess, the daughter of a Tunisian Pasha,

learned through her husband, who was of Swedish descent, of the inferior position of women in Turkey, and gave herself with great ardor to the cause of bettering their lot. She extended her propaganda all over Europe, and everywhere the movement met with a very friendly reception.

Turkey wrestled with a race suicide question, peculiarly its own, notwithstanding the provisions which the prophet Mahomet made against that contingency. Fifty years ago the rule among Turks was to marry young and to espouse several wives, and, as a rule, families were correspondingly large. Now all this is changed. Marriages are late, and in the enormous majority of cases are monogamous, while families are becoming small to a degree which has alarmed the government. The sultan promulgated an iradé on the subject, abolishing much of the expensive display connected with the Turkish marriages and condemning prevailing tendencies as threatening to depopulate the empire.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION

General education, so far as statistics may be taken as a guide, made notable progress during the year. According to the records of the National Bureau of Education there was a substantial increase in the United States in the enrollment of pupils, in the number of teachers, and in the money paid for carrying on the schools and in that invested in school property. The whole number of pupils enrolled in the common schools was 16,009,361, an increase over 1902 of 83,474. The percentage of the total population enrolled, however, decreased twenty-two per cent, a fact attributed to the great wave of immigration. The whole number of teachers employed was 449,287, twenty-six per cent of whom were men. The average monthly salary of the male teacher was \$49.98, representing an increase of fifty-three cents; that of the female teacher was \$40.51, an increase of seventy-four cents. The total amount expended for schools during the year was \$251,457,625, an increase of \$16,249,160, an expenditure per capita of population of \$3.15, per capita of pupils of \$22.75. School property in 1903 was valued at \$643,903,228.

Compared with other countries the United States still stood at the head in the per cent of population enrolled in the elementary schools, showing 21.6 per cent against 20.0 in Switzerland, 18.0 in England, 16.5 in Germany, 14.1 in France, 13.7 in Sweden, 10.7 in Japan, 7.7 in Italy, and 3.3 in Russia. The United States also led the world in the amount of money devoted to education. In addition to the vast sums of public money appropriated, private benefactions to the amount of \$30,000,000 were received by various educational institutions. Mr. J. D. Rockefeller gave \$2,000,000 to the University of Chicago, \$6,000,000 to the Rush Medical College, and \$485 to smaller institutions. Mr. Carnegie parcelled out \$1,300,000 among different colleges, and Mr. Joseph Pulitzer bestowed \$2,000,000 on Columbia,

The total number of pupils doing work of a secondary grade, that is the four years preceding college work, was 776,635, of whom 592,213 were in public high schools, representing a gain in this department over the preceding year of 41,062. Colleges and universities for both sexes and for men alone numbered 455, colleges for women 129. There were 24,955 students in the colleges for men, 63,154 in the co-educational institutions, and 25,485 in colleges for women. From all these institutions 12,141 degrees were conferred upon men, and 5,487 upon women. In the professional schools there was an increase of 29 per cent in the theological seminaries, which numbered during the year 7,372 students; of 145 per cent in the law schools, which numbered 14,057; of 241 in the medical schools, which numbered 27,062. Manual and industrial training schools enrolled 56,432 pupils in 186 institutions, including 95 of high-school grade, 48 of elementary grade, and 43 schools for Indians, and employed 1,354 teachers of elementary and secondary studies and 2,321 instructors in industrial and manual training.

Technical Education

Technical education, both at home and abroad, was strongly insisted upon by those who had the interests of nations at heart. Mr. Charles M. Schwab made the announcement during the year that he contemplated the establishment of a number of technical schools throughout the country, and the utility of such a gift was generally commended. There was a growing feeling that technical education was the right sort, especially for the men and women who have their living to make. There could be no question concerning the need for and the very general desire for such schools. With rapidly developing industries and the introduction of new methods it was necessary to success for the young to be equipped differently from the obsolete ways in vogue half a century ago. Many noted educators were inclined to the opinion that technical schools in the future would be the leading means of education for the bulk of the population. The conditions which require boys and girls to begin life struggles early, and the school which fits them practically for the conflict is the one to which the majority ought to go.

In Germany the trade schools reported a high degree of develop-

ment. They fall into two groups. The first group provides instruction for apprentices in the hand trades and artisans. The second group for large manufacturing industries. Above these is the highest class, the technical high schools which are intended for and used by superior students. The engineering and textile schools are the most important in regard to manufacturing industries. Although there is no uniformity among these schools, there is a general resemblance in the scheme. The weaving school in Berlin is somewhat exceptional. The engineering schools cater for different trades and for different classes of students. Altogether the technical schools are divided thus: Building, engineering and metal trades, textiles, pottery, and art trades. Teaching and experiment were pushed to the furthest limits, and the German Government expressed itself as greatly satisfied with the results.

On June 29 the English newspapers announced a noteworthy addition to provision in Great Britain for the most advanced technical teaching and research connected with the industrial applications of science. Lord Rosebery in a public letter to Lord Monckswell stated that Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co. had placed in his hands as Chairman of a body of trustees a large sum of money to provide the building and equipment of a London Charlottenburg. The institution was designed to be a school of the University of London, affording facilities for instruction in mining and metallurgy, electro chemistry, electric traction, bacteriology, railway and marine engineering, hydraulics and marine architecture. Lord Rosebery stated that the Royal Commissioners of the 1851 exhibition had donated a site of four acres at South Kensington. \$1,500,000 had been set aside for building and its equipment. The London County Council was asked to provide a sum of \$100,000 a year to maintain the institution.

Signs of Progress in Russia

According to a report issued by the Minister of Finance, 149 commercial schools were opened in Russia between 1896 and 1903. In 1903 there were 147 commercial schools with 2,180 teachers, and 32,251 pupils. The schools were spread all over Russia, but in an unequal manner, for all Siberia and the Central Asiatic provinces there was but one, that at Tomsk, whereas St. Petersburg and the ad-

joining region had 58. The government, however, appropriated a sufficient amount for the erection of a separate building for the Deep Sea Navigation School at Vladivostock and the city authorities allotted a spacious piece of ground for the purpose; they granted \$5,150, and promised \$1,145 yearly. The Minister of Finance had charge of all commercial and technical schools, but in 1903 it was decided to place all these under the new board of Commerce and Navigation.

The report of the Habarofsk Technical Railroad School published in 1903 gave but little excuse for its seven years existence. There were only 59 pupils, and in the seven years only 58 graduates, but 13 of whom still remained in the employ of the railroad, so that the chief aim of the school to provide efficient and experienced agents for technical work on the railroad was not realized. The Russian Government projected a plan for training up agents for the railroad trains by establishing special evening schools at the various stations.

Forty-three applications from different parts of Russia asked for the opening of commercial schools, 13 coming from the Warsaw District alone. The government at St. Petersburg authorized the Mayor of Vladivostock to prepare plans and estimates for the erection of a technical school not to cost over \$185,000, and to be opened during the following five years. In November a new building for a navigation school was opened in Odessa. The government, the city and the merchants having subscribed the \$125,000 necessary for its erection.

Reports of the Ministry of Education, under whose jurisdiction there were 37,000 elementary schools, showed that there were in Russia 7,250,000 school children of school age without any education whatsoever. The small share the ministry takes in the establishment and support of such schools is due to the fact that the government's business consists in controlling the schools, and that the money for their support must be provided by the local communities. A change of opinion was noted in an article published by the chief secretary of the Ministry in which occurred these momentous words, "After having satisfied many cases of utmost need it appears that the Ministry has full reason to give more scope to its own initiative and introduce gradually a new system of action that is not so closely dependent upon private and local initiative as at present, which will lead the way gradually to guarantee to all children of school age the

possibility of obtaining an elementary education." The Secretary further stated that for this object it would be necessary to open 150,000 new schools, and that the appropriation for them would amount to \$55,875,000. Such a reform could, of course, only be introduced by degrees. The secretary proposed that a number of schools should be opened up each decade. In the province of Moscow alone 15,323 new schools were required, necessitating an outlay of over \$6,000,000. The fact that the ministry acknowledged as a duty extending elementary education in the Empire and appropriating the necessary funds by the Government, was regarded as one of the most favorable signs of the times in Russia.

Advance in Other Countries

Japan's educational records showed that the percentage of children of school age receiving the prescribed course of elementary instruction was 90.35 for boys and 71.75 for girls. The total number of elementary schools was nearly 2,100. The number of teachers fell but little short of 93,000, and the total number of children in the schools exceeded 4,600,000. In addition there were seven secondary schools in different parts of Japan intended as preparatory for the University, also a number of special schools, commercial and technical schools, and two Universities.

Since Rome is looked upon as an ancient, rather than a modern city, it was somewhat surprising to find this city in advance of all other capitals of Europe in the character of its school buildings, in sanitary conditions, and in course of study. The public schools of Rome are of the most modern type; its new buildings are planned to secure good lighting and freedom from the noises of the street. Baths, workshops and gymnasiums are provided; and playgrounds in the rear of the buildings, the wings of which break up the space in such a way that isolated grounds are secured for the kindergarten and other divisions of the school. Fish ponds and gardens add to the attractiveness of the surroundings, and afford opportunities for nature study. There, as in New York, is daily medical examination. Not only is attention given to the prevention of disease, but all available means are employed to further the physical and moral welfare of the children. A society for the care of poor children which originated in con-

nection with Pestalozzi School extended its operations to other municipal schools. Food and clothing are supplied to the needy, many are sent to the country in the summer, and homes are provided for the destitute.

The rapid development of Sweden in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, and more particularly in the last ten years, forced new burdens upon the primary schools of the country. The drift of population toward the great cities, the employment of women in the factories, little by little disclosed the fact that the influence of education in the family had diminished. In consequence, friends of popular instruction insisted upon extending the activity of the school far beyond the limits, thereby giving greater attention to the physical instruction of the young, and extending the course of manual training which had already been systematically developed. The Society of School Vacation Colonies reported that it had succeeded in removing 850 school children from unhealthy conditions, colonizing them in the country. A special section of the Society, which cares for children with weak lungs, established a home for them in a mountainous region near the frontier of Norway. Another important addition to the educational system was that of workrooms for children designed to provide for the poorest children, or for those whose parents, working in the factories or elsewhere, cannot watch over them, and to instill into the children at an early age the love of work, and instruct them in trades which will enable them to gain a livelihood.

Church and School

Movements towards secularizing schools and bringing educational systems completely under the control of the state were organized in both France and England. In December, M. Combes, the French Premier, submitted to the Council of Ministers a bill forbidding all teaching by the religious orders, including those which had already been authorized in their work under the terms of the Associations Law. According to the terms of this measure, outlined in Chapter VI, 1,299 schools for boys and 2,195 schools for girls must be closed by the beginning of the year 1908, and all congregations existing solely to teach must be dissolved and their property confiscated. In May a monster demonstration was held in Hyde Park, London, to

protest against the workings of the Education Act passed the previous year, on the ground that it was contrary to fundamental English rights that preponderant influence should be given to the Anglican Church authorities in the education of the young, when two-thirds of the population of Great Britain were either indifferent to or conscientiously opposed to the teachings of that church.

II

The London Education bill, on which the House of Commons was busily engaged for three months (see Chapter VII), disclosed in its discussion some vital statistics in regard to English education, together with the grounds for opposition to the Education Act. The disputants on both sides met on the common ground that the general education of the English people was not up to the mark. By the compromise act of 1870, the foundations of a national system of education were laid, yet the denominational schools were not only continued, but regarded as an integral part of the educational scheme, and were to receive an annual subsidy from the national exchequer. According to the year's returns of the education department, there were 6,610,416 scholars in the public elementary schools of England and Wales, of whom 2,881,155 were in 5,797 board schools, and 3,729,261 in 14,319 denominational schools. The total cost per scholar in board schools was about \$15.00, of which about \$5.40 was a grant from the national exchequer in voluntary schools. In voluntary schools the cost was \$11.66 per head, and the annual grant \$5.3 per head.

Five years previous the Archbishop of Canterbury had warned his clerical friends that it was impossible to expect that any government would hand over public money to the church schools without insisting upon public control. After the bishops in convocation had formulated their demand, 10,000 petitions, one from every parsonage in the land, were skillfully poured in upon a hesitating ministry, and the Education Bill of 1902 was the result. (See OUR OWN TIMES, VOL. II.) The central principle of the bill which came into operation in the spring of 1903 was a transfer of the control of education from the school boards to the county councils. The duties of providing and maintaining all forms and grades of education from the elementary to the post-graduate university was thrown, in the cities, on

the local municipal councils, and, in country districts, upon the elected county councils. The whole control of religious instruction was vested in the managers by an amendment which provoked a violent and widespread revolt on the part of the bishops and clergy, who protested vehemently against allowing laymen to have any share in the religious teaching of the schools. The denominational lists in return for nominally placing their schools in the hands of the local educational authorities were allowed a quarter of them for every one on the rates, while at the same time the rate payers were deprived of any effective control over the schools which were maintained wholly at the public expense. The grant of \$56,250,000 for the Board of Education was obtained from parliament without division.

Mr. Bryce, who had led the parliamentary opposition to the bill in 1902, thus summed up the case for the organized opposition to it: "The bill handed over half the schools of the country in perpetuity to one denomination alone; it excluded from the post of teacher in one-half the schools of the country all persons who would not declare themselves members of the Church of England; it perpetuated the distinction of two classes of schools differently managed, while standing side by side, and destroyed the bodies which in the towns had worked successfully for education, and indeed had done nearly all that had been done for it during the last twenty-five years. Those were the four things which the operation of the act involved. The first was against constitutional principles, the second against justice, the third against economy, the fourth against common sense, and all were against education. The avowed object of the clergy was to control the whole education of the children whom the compulsory attendance law forced into their schools. They made no secret of the fact that they were fighting not merely to have the right to give religious instruction in the time set apart for it at the opening of school, but to saturate the whole of the secular teaching with what they called the Anglican atmosphere. It amounted to compelling one-half the teachers paid with public money, as the condition of earning their bread, to subscribe to the doctrine and ritual of the Anglican Church."

The National Union of Teachers of Great Britain at a meeting held in April passed a resolution strongly condemnatory of the

London Education Bill, which in its final form did little else than include London within the scope of the earlier measure.

Ireland's Catholic University

Ireland was led to expect that the government would bring in a bill before the close of the year for the creation of a Roman Catholic University. The report of the Royal Commission which had inquired into the University question pronounced that the position of the Queen's colleges was most unsatisfactory and recommended a federal teaching University with four constituent colleges, the three Queen's colleges, and a new Roman Catholic College in Dublin. Six commissioners agreed upon, while six others dissented from, the leading recommendations. It was advised that the endowment and equipment of the new college at Dublin should be on a scale required by a university college of the first rank. Attendance in lectures at one of these colleges should be obligatory on all students. The University examinations should be conducted by the professors of each college with the assistance of external examiners, but each college should have a large measure of autonomy as regarded the regulation of its courses of study. The report was made public in March, though the bill had not been introduced by the close of the year.

English College Endowments

In his presidential address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir Norman Lockyer made the following plea for the better equipment and endowment of English colleges:

"We in Great Britain have eleven universities competing with 134 state and privately endowed in the United States and twenty-two state-endowed in Germany. The German state gives to one university more than the British government allows to all the universities and university colleges in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales put together.

"What are the facts relating to private endowment in this country? If we take the twelve English university colleges, the forerunners of universities, unless we are to perish from lack of knowledge, we find that private effort during sixty years has found less than £4,000,000;

that is, £2,000,000 for buildings, and £40,000 a year for income. This gives us an average of £166,000 for buildings and £3,300 for yearly income. In the United States, during the last few years, universities and colleges have received more than £40,000,000 from this source alone; private effort supplied nearly £7,000,000 in the years 1898-1900. Next consider the amount of state aid to universities afforded in Germany. The buildings of the new University of Strasburg have already cost nearly a million; that is, about as much as has yet been found by private effort for buildings in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, Newcastle, and Sheffield. The government annual endowment of the same German university is more than £49,000. When we consider the large endowments of university education, both in the United States and Germany, it is obvious that state aid only can make any valid competition possible with either."

Education for War and Peace

Education in the interests of war and peace was extended in 1903 in several directions. In England Mr. Brodrick, the Secretary of War, made the important announcement on March 9 that new provision would be made for the education of military officers. Mr. Brodrick proposed to bring to the assistance of military education in Great Britain an advisory board consisting of the heads of Woolwich, Sandhurst, the Staff College and the Ordnance College of two representatives of the Universities, a representative selected by the incorporated Association of Head Masters, two masters nominated by the Secretary of State in accordance with the recommendations of the military association. The syllabus of examination would be left in the hands of this advisory board. Much better military training would be required of the cadets than heretofore before they would be admitted to the army. The course at Sandhurst would consist of two years instead of one. For University candidates, whom Mr. Brodrick was anxious to encourage, he had prepared a scheme that would enable them to enter the army on equal terms with the other candidates. The Universities would be asked to include in their honors examination two or three military subjects, such as military topography and military history. For officers after they had entered the army the scheme introduced an annual course of training.

II

In laying the cornerstone of the new War College in Washington in March, President Roosevelt outlined the purposes of that institution as follows:

"It has been well said that the surest way to invite national disaster is for a nation to be opulent, aggressive, and unarmed. It is no longer open to us to decide whether we shall play a great part in the world. All we have to decide is whether we shall play it well or ill. The army of the United States is, and it is not desirable that it should be other than, a small army relatively to population. But we have a right to expect that the small army shall represent, for its size, the very highest point of efficiency of any army in the civilized world." Secretary Root also summed up in a few words the meaning of the college: "Not to promote war, but to preserve peace, by intelligent and adequate preparation to repel aggression, this institution is founded."

Although a good deal of fun was poked at the military schools established in the United States for the benefit of the officers of the army (see Chapter VI) it was soon found that real work was required of the men who attended them. In June six army officers were ordered before a court martial at the Fort Leavenworth school because they had neglected their studies and failed in examination. This action which was approved by the War Department showed that the schools were not play places, and that officers who looked upon them as such were liable to be brought up on the charge of conduct prejudicial to military discipline and good order.

III

The Prince of Monaco, wishing to honor his reign by some worthy institution, announced the establishment of an international institute of peace. The creation of this institution has for its object the publication of works and documents concerning international law, the statistics of wars and armaments, the settling of disputes between different nations, the development of institutions which shall be useful to all nations, the propaganda of the teachings of peace, and the history and biography of these questions. The library and museum of the institute is formed of documents, works and object lessons of all sorts. All languages are represented, and the institute is thrown open to the

world. It is under the patronage of the Prince; it is composed of ten resident members and of forty-five foreigners, the election of whom must be approved by the Prince. The resources of the institute are the subsidy granted by the Monaco government, the gifts and legacies which it may be authorized to receive, and the proceeds from the sale of its publications.

Schools for Filipinos and Indians

One very creditable feature of the United States army's work in the Philippines was the establishment of schools taught by soldiers shortly after the occupation of towns and villages—the nucleus of the school system. According to a report published in 1903, there were 479 of these schools in Northern Luzon, 89 in Southern Luzon, 210 in Panay, 59 in Negros, 23 in Cebu, 45 in Mindanao. The instructors were in only a few cases trained teachers, yet they were able to give the native teachers a smattering of English, and to lay the foundations of the elaborate school system later established throughout the archipelago. Under the military government over \$100,000 was expended from the public civil funds for the purchase of school books and supplies. During the year 1903 the Governor of Guam asked the United States to grant \$25,000 for school buildings, and \$6,000 a year for the support of schools. He proposed to employ an American superintendent to train native teachers. According to a census of the year Guam had a population of 9,676 persons on its two hundred square miles of territory.

In the act establishing an educational system in the Philippines money was appropriated for a trade school in Manila, and after two years it met with such success that schools for instruction in handicraft were started in various other parts of the island. The equipment was limited, and the work experimental, but extremely practical, the objects made being such as could be used in the home, or in the school room. In Manila the work of the trade school included a more thorough education along different lines. An effort was made to find out the needs of the country, and to try to fit the young men to fill them.

The twenty-fourth annual report of the Indian School in Pennsylvania gave most excellent results of what is known as the outing

system, that is, placing the Indian boys at work with farmers or in mechanical situations, where they could work side by side with the regular employees in various establishments. This system gives the Indian youth an opportunity of following civilized industries and pursuits. The Superintendent declared that the experiences with pupils coming to the school from gypsy homeless influences proved that better results could be expected by taking the youth immediately from original Indian life. The united earnings of those who had outing privileges during 1903 were \$31,303. The workers save half their earnings, and the accumulated savings in two years were \$35,904. During the year 101 graduates of Carlisle were employed in the Indian school service of the Department of the Interior, their combined salaries being \$46,300. The Superintendent said that he had never urged upon the Government Department wholesale employment of his own graduates, but had rather insisted that they go out into the world, and struggle in competition with other people.

Education at the South

Georgia reported six large institutions for the higher education of the negro. Two thousand one hundred men and women annually enter these institutions. Atlanta University's principal work is training teachers for the negro public school. The technical training is very high. At Savannah, the State University includes an industrial college for negroes, where instruction is given in every line of agricultural science, in blacksmithing, carpentry, shoe-making, tailoring, painting, glazing, brick-masonry, plastering, wheelwrighting, dress-making and cooking. The college owns 86 acres of land, 51 being used for a farm on which the students of the agricultural department receive their training. Last year \$1,000 was cleared from this farm, which in addition produced sufficient vegetables and dairy products to furnish the tables of the boarding departments. All the members of the faculty are negro men and women.

At a meeting held in New York in April under the auspices of the Armstrong Association to discuss the industrial education of the negro, ex-President Cleveland acted as chairman and delivered a strong address which voiced precisely the Southern view, without giving offense to Northern sentiment. He said in part: "I believe

that neither the decree that made the slaves free nor the act that suddenly invested them with the rights of citizenship any more purged them of their racial and slavery-bred imperfections and deficiencies than it changed the color of their skin. I believe that among the nearly 9,000,000 of negroes that have been intermixed with out citizenship, there is still a grievous amount of ignorance, a sad amount of viciousness, and a tremendous amount of laziness and thriftlessness. I believe that these conditions inexorably present to the white people of the United States a problem which neither enlightened self-interest nor the higher motive of human sympathy will permit them to put aside. As friends of the negro, fully believing in the possibility of his improvement and advancement, sincerely and confidently laboring to that end, it is folly for us to ignore the importance of the ungrudging co-operation on the part of the white people of the South in this work. Labor as we will, those who do the lifting of the weight must be those who stand next to it. The co-operation cannot be forced, nor can it be gained by gratuitously running counter to firmly fixed and tenaciously held Southern ideas and prejudices."

II

President Charles W. Dalney, of the University of Tennessee, at a Southern Educational mass-meeting, held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, early in January, gave out some astonishing figures on the needs of the South for better and more widely diffused education. Of 6,411,000 children of school age south of the Potomac, 3,981,000 white and 2,420,000 black, only 60 per cent were enrolled in schools. One-half the negroes were getting no schooling at all, and one white child in every five was wholly illiterate. The average child attending school stopped at the third grade. At least 1,500,000 whites in the South could not read nor write. North Carolina spent only \$1.53 on each child's education, while New York spent \$10.91; Massachusetts spent eleven times as much on education as North Carolina and eight times as much as Tennessee. The people of the South, however, were doing as much per taxable dollar as those of the North, but the taxable valuations were much lower. Moreover, the Southern people numbered more children in proportion to adults than any other section. South Carolina reported only 50 adult males to every 100 children, while New York reported 102 to every 100. Dr. Dalney

concluded with fine optimism: "The Southern people are poor, but they are heroes, and I predict that within the next decade they will be doing as much, if not more, for the education of their children than any other section." Other Southern speakers voiced similar hopes, giving evidence that the best element in the South stood committed to the education of white and black, and that Southern colleges, universities, and training schools were ready to co-operate with such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee in a solution of the race problem.

III

A great conference on Southern education held at Richmond, Va., in 1903, disclosed many new progressive tendencies in Southern education. The problem of the South was well defined in an address by the Hon. Hoke Smith, who declared: "The rural school question is the great problem. Between eight-ninths and eight-tenths of our people live in the country, and yet not one-third of our agricultural lands are being tilled, and that one-third not being tilled as well as it should be." The backward conditions of the public schools due to the lack of sufficient funds and of adequate supervision, and the great awakening in education in the direction in which improvements are being made, were ably illustrated by two counties in Georgia. "In Bibb County," said Mr. Smith, "the self-perpetuating school board is made up of twelve regular members from among the best citizens of the county, and being free from political control they direct the schools in the interest of all the people. The county superintendent is a graduate of the State University of Georgia, an experienced teacher, a man of rare administrative ability, and a gentleman of culture; while in Hancock County there is a dual system of administration, a county board and a local board for each school. The two counties are in the same agricultural belt and are fifty miles apart. Thirty years ago they were under practically the same conditions, with whatever difference in favor of Hancock County, but now in Bibb County the enrollment in the white schools is 98 per cent of the census, while in Hancock County the corresponding per cent of the census is 79. In Bibb County the minimum salary for white teachers is \$44.00 and for negroes \$30.00.

"The percentage of illiterates in Bibb County has decreased from

four to one for the whites and from twenty to five for negroes in the last five years. In Hancock County from five to one, and from twenty-eight to twenty-three. In both counties there are High Schools, though Bibb County has no High School for negroes. The number of pupils in the High School in Bibb County is 413; in Hancock County 50. The length of the school term in Hancock County has been only five and one-half months, and that short term consumed every dollar of the school fund. An agreement between the superintendent and the General Education Board tends toward bridging the chasm from no taxation to local taxation; from poor schools to good schools, and the construction material used in the bridge is an earnest, self-sacrificing school superintendent, an enlightened public sentiment, the people's own hands and their own money, and lastly, a little aid from the General Education Board." Mr. Smith planned to establish a manual training school as an organic part of the county system, and to be used as a central training school for the teachers of the entire county on a plan somewhat similar to that in operation in Bibb County.

A New Educational Ideal

A new educational ideal was realized in enlisting the coöperation of farmers for the betterment of school facilities for their children. A case in point is that of the country school training given in Winnebago County, Ill. The Farmer Boys Experiment Club was organized in 1902, but little was accomplished until 1903, when it enrolled 340 boys from 9 to 20 years old. After the organization of the club the boys and their parents went on an excursion to the Agricultural College connected with the University of Illinois at Urbana, where the boys were shown the laboratories where the work of testing and improving types of corn, treatment and analysis of soils and propagation of plants was done. Following these models the experimental and observation work of the boys consisted in testing the vitality and strength of various seeds, planting corn and noting growth, experimenting with sugar beets, etc. Each boy was given two pounds of sugar beet seed by the experiment station at Urbana. The department wanted to interest the boys and see at the same time whether sugar beets could be grown with profit in northern Illinois. The Illinois State Farmers Institute gave to every boy of the county who

sent four cents in postage 500 grains of high bred corn. Nearly 200 boys sent for the corn and planted it, noted all the interesting facts about its growth, and exhibited the best ears at the Farmers Institute in competition for prizes. The boys also made observations as to barren stalks of corn and computed the percentage.

At a meeting of the Farmers Institute several members of the experiment club gave an account of their work, and a few teachers told how the district school might assist such an organization. The experimental school garden movement was inaugurated in the same county as a factor in the missionary work for the cause of agriculture. It gave promise of being a great force in creating a new educational idea relating to the training of the farmer boy and his sister. Three school districts of the county were consolidated, a new building erected, and three acres of the finest farming land in Illinois purchased for experiments, providing for the artistic arrangement of many kinds of trees, beautiful groupings of many shrubs and flowers, a girls' athletic field, a boys' athletic field, a little folks' playground, and experimental gardens for all the children. The new building had a room which could be utilized for a boys' workshop, a room for a girls' gymnasium, an assembly room and a lavatory. This consolidated school promised to be the connecting link between the farm and the College of Agriculture, and the experiment proved that it is not necessary, perhaps not even important, that the child be taught these things with the idea of making him a farmer, but merely as a means of education and of interesting him in the out-of-doors.

The National Educational Association

Nearly 25,000 school teachers representing every state in the Union gathered in Boston in July for the annual convention of the National Educational Association. While this body is forty-two years old, it is only in the last twenty years that it has grown into any magnitude. The great work of the convention in 1903 may be judged by the fact that something like forty-two meetings of the Association and its various branches were held, and as many as 270 addresses given, ranging over all topics from kindergarten to university. President Eliot, of Harvard, and the retiring president of the Association, in the opening address of the convention gave "A new definition of

the cultivated man," which aroused considerable discussion throughout the country.

According to President Eliot's new definition, the cultivated man is to be "a man of quick perceptions, broad sympathies, and wide affinities, responsive but independent, self-reliant but deferential, loving truth and candor, but also moderation and proportion, courageous but gentle, not finished but perfecting. There are two principal differences between the present ideal and that which prevailed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The horizon of the human intellect has widened wonderfully during the last one hundred years, and the scientific method of inquiry has been the means of that widening. The most convinced exponents and advocates of humanism now recognize that science is the 'paramount force of the modern as distinguished from the antique and the mediæval spirit,' and that 'an interpretation of humanism with science and of science with humanism is the condition of the highest culture.'" The four elements of culture to which President Eliot paid attention were, character, language, store of knowledge, and imagination.

There was a clash of opinions concerning the so-called "bob-tailed college course." President Butler of Columbia, condemned as one of the worst educational evils that of quantitative standards, wherein the courses are based on the time spent, and not upon performance. He took the ground that the college course was in danger of disappearance because the professional school is trying to reach down from above into its domain and the secondary school is reaching up from below. He believed that there should be a college course two years in length, carefully constructed as a thing by itself, which would enable intending professional students to spend this time in purely liberal studies before taking up special preparation for their chosen professions. President Harper of Chicago stated that he had been cautiously experimenting in search of some sort of compromise. President Eliot scoffed at the plan of shortening the course and defended the Harvard scheme of one year of prescribed studies.

Promoting Religious Education

The Religious Education Association was organized in Chicago on February 12, 1903, to promote investigation and discovery, and to

serve as a clearing house for ideas and activities unifying, stimulating and developing all the forces for securing religious education. The convention voted to adopt a constitution modeled on the lines of the National Educational Association, and it elected a president, sixteen vice-presidents, twenty-one directors at large, and an executive board of twenty-one. Before the close of the year the Association numbered over 1,500 members, in which the religious and educational strength of the country centered. At the close of its first year it enrolled half as many active members as the National Educational Association after its thirty years of history. A meeting of the Board of Directors convened at Boston in July to hear a report from the executive board, and to provide for the vigorous promotion of the work of the Association.

The work before the Association was defined to be to give religion its rightful part in the development of the individual and of society, to correlate religious and moral instruction with that in history, science, and literature, obtained in public or private schools, to determine the established results of modern psychology and pedagogy, and of the historical study of the bible as related to religious instruction; to indicate the proper place of the bible in religious and moral instruction, and the wise methods of its use; to establish its adaptiveness, historically studied, for the promotion of such religious instruction as the state may rightfully promote; to show the necessity of adapting religious instruction to various stages of physical, mental, moral and spiritual development in the pupil; to promote the adoption in all schools of courses of study and methods of teaching which take into account the present status of knowledge. To further the adequate training of leaders and teachers for the responsible work of religious instruction, and to unite all individuals and agencies now laboring for these higher ideals of religious education.

The College of the City of New York

The election of Dr. John Huston Finley to be President of the College of the City of New York was an event of considerable importance in the educational world. This institution is the outgrowth of the old New York Free Academy established to give free instruction offered by the colleges and polytechnic institutions. Beautiful

new buildings were designed for the new home of the college, the cornerstone of which was laid during the year. The new site is six miles north from the old one, and the structures are to be gothic halls, the cost of which will be no less than \$2,600,000. Formerly, the college was open to only graduates of the New York public schools, but since that date any resident of New York City over fourteen years of age is eligible to be a student. There are now considerably more than 2,000 students every year, and the new buildings allow for from 3,000 to 5,000.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGION

Historically the paramount event of 1903 was the election of a new Pope. No change in temporal power could possibly affect so widely or so intimately the people of Christendom as did the change in the spiritual head of the 261,161,000 communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. Considering his advanced age and prolonged weakness, the death of Pope Leo XIII on July 28 can hardly be said to have occasioned surprise. It occasioned worldwide sorrow, and brought forth high tributes from representatives of every land and every creed. It was universally agreed that no Pope had ever sustained more admirably the dignity of St. Peter's chair or more greatly enhanced its influence. Protestant comment was hardly less eulogistic than that of the Catholic press. Historical and denominational controversies were forgotten in a moment of common gratitude for a useful and saintly life, for an administration in favor of public and private morals, of justice between man and man, and of international peace.

Brilliant jubilee ceremonies began at Rome on February 20 in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Leo XIII's election, reaching a still more brilliant culmination on March 3 in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his coronation. At least 75,000 people were present in St. Peter's at the celebration of the jubilee mass for the Pope. The brother and sister-in-law of the Queen of Italy, and representatives of many noble and royal families of Europe, as well as prominent priests and laymen from this hemisphere, were in the congregation. On March 2 the Pope had celebrated his ninety-third birthday. He was the second of two hundred and sixty-two Popes to reach the "Years of Peter," that is, to occupy the papal throne for the number of years accredited to St. Peter as Bishop of Rome. In spite of his ninety-three years, Leo XIII retained his intellectual vigor almost to the day of his death, resisting the ravages

of pleuro-pneumonia with an energy of which few younger men would have been capable. It was only during the last two days of his life that he ceased to receive cardinals and church dignitaries, and to speak with them on questions of ecclesiastical importance.

Career of Leo XIII

Pope Leo XIII was born neither to poverty nor to riches. His father was Count Ludovici Pecci, a colonel in the army of Napoleon I, the owner of a small estate. His mother was apparently an ambitious woman whose sole thought was the education of her two boys. The future Pope, who was known in youth as Vincentino, received a good education at the Jesuit College at Viterbo, and afterward in their College at Rome. He became a priest in 1837. The next year, when twenty-eight years old, he was made Governor-delegate of Benevento, a district haunted by brigands, whom he shortly reduced to order by capturing and executing fourteen of the most daring of them. He became Archbishop of Damietta in 1843. He was sent as Papal Nuncio to Belgium for a year, and during that period he visited England. In 1844 he was recalled to Italy and three years later was made Governor-Bishop of Perugia. In 1853 Pope Pius IX made him a Cardinal and on February 19, 1878, Cardinal Pecci, in his sixty-ninth year, was elected Pope Leo XIII.

Coming into papal power he was confronted with the difficulties which his predecessor's policy had brought forth. The Roman Church had difficulties with Italy, Germany, and France. His first move was to send a vigorous dispatch to St. Petersburg denouncing the conduct of the Russian government. After a delay of several weeks the dispatch was returned to Rome without comment. Thereupon, Leo XIII wrote a birthday letter to the Czar full of congratulations and good wishes, which were received in friendly spirit. The Pope found Bismarck defiant and angry. "We shall not go to Canossa," said the Iron Chancellor, at the beginning of the "Kulturkampf," but the new Pope handled the situation so well that Bismarck did eventually go to Canossa and make his peace with Rome. In France the Pope was quick to realize that the Republic had come to stay, and he ordered the Bishops to desist from the campaign in favor of the lost cause of monarchy. He did not make peace, but he secured a truce for many

years. Thus, by adopting what he himself described as "the strategy of peace," Pope Leo succeeded in converting two of his foes into friends, and in lessening the strife between church and state in France. He never made peace with Italy, however, and to the very last clung tenaciously to the idea that the worldwide sovereignty of the church was absolutely dependent upon the possession of secular authority over the city of Rome.

Under the influence of Anglo-American inspiration the Pope finally broke with the dynasties, and threw in his lot with the people. "We must go to the people," he said, "we must seek the alliance of all honest folk, whatsoever their origin or opinion; we must not lose heart; we will triumph over prejudice, injustice, and error." His encyclical on labor represented the last work of the great pontiff on one of the most vexed questions of modern society.

The Pope's own version of what he considered to be his mission in life was found in his encyclical for Pentecost promulgated 1897, in which he said: "We have endeavored to direct all that we have attempted and persistently carried out during a long pontificate toward two chief ends,—in the first place, toward the restoration, both in rulers and peoples, of the principles of the Christian life in civil and domestic society, since there is no true life for men except from Christ; and, secondly, to promote the reunion of those who have fallen away from the Catholic Church either by heresy or by schism, since it is most undoubtedly the will of Christ that all should be united in one flock under one shepherd."

Cardinal Satolli thus summed up the great pontiff's purpose and achievement: "From the time when Leo XIII succeeded Pius IX, he had formed a grand plan in which he took cognizance of all the needs of humanity, and determined on the provisions he would make for those needs during the whole course of his pontificate. We can best distinguish this design of the Pope in three particular directions. First, in the Holy Father's zeal for the development of studies; secondly, in the continued interest which he has shown in social science; and, thirdly, in his untiring efforts to bring peace into the Christian countries by the spread of civilization, the teaching of religion, and the promotion of concord between Church and State."

At the death of a Pope, the custom of the church requires an elab-

orate ceremony of ancient origin. The Cardinal Camerlenzo, in this instance Cardinal Oreglia, accompanied by the prelates of the apostolic chamber, enters the room of death, where the Penitents of St. Peter kneel about the body of the deceased Pope, reciting the burial service. After a short prayer, during which the attendants remove the white veil covering the dead face, the Camerlenzo, to verify death, it is said, strikes the icy forehead three times, saying in the case of Leo XIII: "Giacchino! Giacchino! Giacchino!" Then the Camerlenzo declares: "The Pope is indeed dead!" After the *De Profundis* is sung, the Fisherman's Ring is drawn from the dead hand and presented to the Camerlenzo, who breaks it, as each new Pope is provided with a new ring. The body of the Pope is then prepared elaborately for the stately burial services in the great church of St. Peter's.

The Conclave of 1903

The funeral ceremonies of Pope Leo occupied a number of days. On the tenth day after his death, according to a fixed rule that had been in force for more than six hundred years, the conclave assembled for the choice of a new Pope. Of the sixty-four members of the College of Cardinals, all assembled at Rome save two, prevented by age and infirmity from making the journey. Seven were new Cardinals chosen at a consistory held on June 22. Of the total number thirty-six were Italians. No British subject was present in the Conclave, and the only representative of the English-speaking race who took part — and a leading part — in the election of Pius X was Cardinal Gibbons, the Archbishop of Baltimore. Since the Hague Conference, four years previous, no international assembly so much deserved to be regarded as representative of the world as the electoral college at Rome, for the constituents of the great electors were scattered over the whole world, divided up into the twelve hundred bishoprics.

The conclave that had elected Cardinal Pecci on February 19, 1878, was thickly sprinkled with members of the old nobility, a Hohenlohe from Germany, a Howard from England, a Schwartzenburg from Austria, scions of the princely families of Italy, and Lucien Bonaparte from France. The list also included many members of the lesser nobility, and only a few men of lowly birth. While it might be called a democratic body, by birth, association, and kinship its tone was aristo-

cratic, and Joachim Pecci, a scholar and a gentleman, seemed the natural choice of this body. The conclave of 1903 was a very different body in constitution and spirit; many of its members were the creation of Leo XIII, who had manifested his conversion to democracy by his elevation of cardinals. No single great Roman name was represented, though there were many of secondary rank, and the list of lowly born had been lengthened, including the sons of poor peasants, like Sarto and Gotti, a dock laborer's son, and Svampa, the son of a shepherd.

II

The Conclave of 1903 lasted four days, beginning August 1. During that time the sixty-two cardinals were shut off from all communication with the outside world. Every approach to the section of the Vatican occupied by the Conclave was guarded. Even food and other necessities were sent in by dumb-waiters. "Cells" had been provided for the prelates, though, with the exception of four too ill to leave their beds, the cardinals ate at a common table. Twice a day a vote was taken, the ballot being placed in a chalice and afterward counted by three tellers. Six times between Saturday morning and Monday evening a wreath of smoke curled upward from the stack above the Sistine chapel, and these faint signals told a waiting world all that could be known of the work of the College of Cardinals. The smoke arose from the burning of ballots, which, in the event of no election, are mixed with damp straw so that the smoke will be heavy. On Tuesday morning, at 11.30 o'clock, the eager throngs gathered in the Piazza of St. Peter's, noting a trace of thin white smoke ascending, gave the cry that a Pope had been chosen. A few moments later, from the balcony high above the main entrance of St. Peter's, the oldest Cardinal Deacon formally announced that the choice of the Conclave had fallen upon Guiseppe Sarto, Cardinal Archbishop and Patriarch of Venice. The bells of the Cathedral pealed their acclamations. Then the new Pope himself appeared, a white figure against a red background of cardinals, to give his first pontifical blessing, "*Urbi et orbi*"—"to the city and to the world."

After the Conclave it was learned that the four leading candidates at the opening of the Conclave had been Rampolla, Vannutelli, Gotti, and Oreglia. Cardinal Rampolla, whose name stood first on the first

four ballots, is a Southern Italian, a Sicilian, an able, adroit diplomatist. That he did not succeed in carrying the election was popularly attributed to the direct intervention of the representatives of Germany and Austria, who were said to have intimated that they objected to the election of Cardinal Rampolla on account of his leanings toward France. The election was generally regarded as a compromise between two dominant parties too equal in number to risk a fight, the Austrian party supporting Cardinal Vannutelli, and the French and Spanish delegates supporting Cardinal Rampolla. The successor of Leo XIII was utterly without party support or affiliations, wholly separate in life and training from the influences which constitute the bureaucracy of the Vatican. In the first two ballots, Sarto had not even been second in the running. In the first, he had five votes; in the second, ten; in the third, twenty-one; in the fourth, twenty-four; in the fifth he headed the poll with twenty-seven, and on Monday evening he secured a majority of thirty-five.

Pope Pius X

No one seemed to be more surprised at the election of Cardinal Sarto than Cardinal Sarto himself. He was his own most strenuous opponent. When he headed the list on the fifth ballot he is said to have broken down altogether, and implored the cardinals to find some other candidate. Despite his reluctance, however, he was elected on the final ballot by fifty votes, ten times as many as those with which he started, while ten remained faithful to Cardinal Rampolla, and two to Cardinal Gotti. Few Cardinals were so little known in Rome as he. While his whole career had been passed inside Italy, it had been passed almost wholly outside Rome. He pathetically reminded the Cardinals of the conclave that he had never strayed beyond his own parish, that he did not speak any language, not even his own, with ease. His Italian was mixed with a Venetian patois. He was a peasant, and the son of a peasant. His sisters still wore the peasant's costume. He was the first Pope for more than a century and a half of plebeian origin. Sarto sprang as much from the common people as Abraham Lincoln himself. His brother was an inn-keeper in Mantua, one of his sisters married a cigarmaker, and the other a sacristan of the church.

Joseph Sarto was born at Riese, in the Province of Treviso, on June 2, 1835, and was therefore sixty-eight when he became Pope Pius X, as he chose to be named. A promising scholar, he was sent from a village school to the college at Castel-Grande, and from there to the seminary at Padua, from which he graduated with honor. He was ordained priest when he was twenty-three years old, and for eight years was employed as a country curate. He was then appointed parish priest, and in 1884 he became Bishop of Mantua. After five years Leo XIII created him Patriarch of Venice, whose rank in the hierarchy of the church was next to that of the Pope. There are several Patriarchs: e. g. the Patriarch of the Indies, the Patriarch of Lisbon and the Patriarch of Venice. Under the Patriarch comes the primate, and then in order, archbishops, bishops and suffragans. He was made a Cardinal at the Consistory of June 12, 1893. After his accession to the papacy Sarto displayed the same simplicity of manner that had characterized him from his youth up. In his first speech, when receiving the diplomatic representatives at the Vatican, he declared that it was his earnest desire to see the peace of the world strengthened, and it would ever be his endeavor to bring about that end.

II

Of his personal characteristics a fellow cardinal said: "Sarto is, above all else, a genuine warmhearted priest who cares nothing about high-sounding phrases, who possesses divine fire enough within him to purify what it touches. His sympathy is not for abstractions, but for men of flesh and blood; his hatred not for criminals, but for all manner of evil; the charity which actuates him and about which a whole cycle of legends has grown up has its roots in selflessness and its fruit in dried-up tears, in assuaged sufferings, in healed hearts and hopeful souls. It is not too much to say that Sarto, who was always a spiritual shepherd and never fully entered into the roll of eminence, is characterized by true lowliness of spirit." It may have been the recollection of the modest dwelling in which he was born which inspired the sovereign pontiff, when giving his instructions to the architects and upholsterers who were about to fit up his apartments in the Vatican, to say, "Above all things, do not make them too beautiful, and let there be no mirrors."

There is nothing, however, æsthetic or visionary in the composition

of Sarto; he is full of life and joy. To quote further from his friend: "His singularly handsome face seldom lacks a pleasant smile, emanating, one might say, from an agreeable sense of all that is good and noble in the world; and, looking upon the man as he moves and works among his friends, one would be tempted to regard him as a near approach to the old ideal of a healthy mind in a healthy body. Sarto's soft, and sometimes dreamy, eyes are extremely expressive, and bespeak now a simplicity bordering on humility, now pent-up fire and energy. His well-shaped mouth exhibits lines of almost feminine softness; his speeches are devoid of any coldness or hardness. His bearing is dignified but graceful, and his gait, especially when taking part in religious processions, is majestic."

III

Pius X was crowned Pope on August 9, before an imposing audience of 50,000 people, the majority of whom had been in their places since the doors of St. Peter's were swung open at six o'clock in the morning. At eight o'clock the Pope, with the full procession of cardinals and other dignitaries, entered the portico of the Basilica, where Cardinal Rampolla offered a set speech of congratulation. Then the procession entered the church, the Pope borne aloft in the sedia gestatoria, blessing the multitude as he received their homage. The procession halted at the Chapel of the Sacrament, where His Holiness prayed for a time, at the Chapel of St. Gregory, where he officiated at a mass. Thence he was borne to the papal throne, which had been placed before the high altar. Walking to the high altar, the Pontiff participated in several ceremonies, culminating in a mass. He then proceeded to the shrine of St. Peter for the final rite—the coronation. Prayers were recited. Cardinal Deacon Segna raised the Pope's mitre and Senior Cardinal Deacon Macchi placed upon the head of Pius X the triple crown. Trumpets pealed, bells rang out, the choir sang a triumphant alleluia, and the people acclaimed as with one mighty voice. After the papal benediction, the recessional was formed.

On November 18 Pope Pius X held his first public Consistory, attended by the splendid ceremonies that give dignity to this occasion. Five cardinals, including the new papal secretary of state, received their red hats. The selection of Cardinal Merry del Val, a Spaniard reared in England, to be the papal secretary of state, was generally

regarded as indicating a reversal of the Francophile policy of his predecessor in that office, Cardinal Rampolla. The first encyclical of Pope Pius X corresponded with the expectations of the majority of the Sacred College, by whom he was elevated to the pontificate. Its tone was entirely different from that of the two previous Popes, stating that Pius X wished only to be the head of a religion which should be re-invigorated in its power to comfort and console, and which should be an instrument of order and of peace. There was no suggestion of the necessary independence of the church. There was no indication that the policy of Pope Pius X would be incompatible with that abstention from politics which his predecessors had enjoined.

Practically the counsel of Pius X was this: Cast from the church all that centuries and human hands have accumulated around her, all that is frail and weak, and bring back to her that enthusiastic, complete, and heroic devotion of the multitude, in order to give to her that moral and social authority which she exercised in the first centuries. Leaving his citations and innumerable exhortations to the clergy to spread the Catholic religion and educate the people in the faith, the question still remains of what was the Pope's conception of that political and social organization to which he would consecrate such ardent and noble forces. We have our answer in a statement made in the encyclical that rulers should be obeyed, since these rulers derive their right from God, the rude restoration of a world that has disappeared, a world in which was unknown national sovereignty. The Pope had another suggestion with reference to the conflicts between the different classes of society. On this point he said that because of their faith "the nobles and the rich will be just and charitable to the poor, and these should bear with tranquillity and patience the distress of the present life." Here was neither the audacious innovation proposed by Pope Leo XIII nor the revelation of a new thought, of a new method, which will connect that which is immortal in the Christian faith with that which is the product of the popular will and the economic and social tendencies of the day. This was nothing more than the attempted reconstruction of that which has long since disappeared, absolute sovereignty and the prestige of nobility and wealth, to which social duties do not pertain, but which may be tempered by a gentle and noble exercise of charity.

The New Head of the Church of England

Next to the election of a new Pope, the most notable change in ecclesiastical administration was the appointment of a new head of the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, the most Reverend Frederick Temple, died at Lambert Palace on December 23, 1902. The vacant Archbishopric was filled by the appointment of Dr. Randall Davidson, Bishop of Winchester, on January 9, 1903. The selection was in accordance with general expectations. For years Dr. Davidson had been intimately connected with the Court, and on intimate terms with the King. The Primacy was offered to him in 1896 on the death of Dr. Benson, who was Dr. Temple's predecessor, but refused by him at that time on account of ill health. On February 6 the confirmation of the election of Dr. Davidson took place. The Archbishop of York presided, and there was no opposition. The new head of the Church of England took up the Primacy in his fifty-fifth year.

II

Two events which seemed fraught with important consequences for the Church of England occurred in July. A joint meeting of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and the Houses of Laymen of the two provinces, was held at the Church House, Westminster, to consider the question of forming a national representative Church Council. On the first day, July 9, a resolution was passed declaring it desirable that such a council be established, but reserving the question of seeking legal constitution and authority for it. A second resolution agreed upon declared in favor of the reform of the two Convocations and of their sitting together as one body. On the second day a motion for a communicant franchise was passed, limiting the initial franchise of lay electors to "those persons of the male sex who declare themselves in writing at the time of voting to be lay members of the Church of England and of no other religious communion."

On July 11 a large deputation waited on the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for the purpose of presenting a Declaration on Ritual which had been signed by over 4,000 clergymen of the High Church party. The signatories, desiring to promote the peace of the church, to strengthen the hands of the bishops, and to reassure a disquieted laity, declared: (1) their sense of the sacred obligation of a loyal

observance of the prayer-book services, and of not varying from them without episcopal authority; (2) their belief that the Ornaments Rubric retained the ceremonial system which was lawful under the first prayer-book of Edward VI, and that for the peace of the church this ought to be recognized as its lawful inheritance without derogation to the lesser ceremonial usage which so widely prevailed; (3) their anxiety for the complete restoration of the synodical action of the church, whereby the admonitions and requests of the Bishops, acting in consultation with their clergy, should be obeyed; (4) their protest against judging the church as a whole by the conduct of a few who offended by excess or defect of ritual, or by divergence from the fundamental doctrines of the church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a hearty welcome to the deputation itself, to the document they presented, and to the speeches supporting it, on the ground that it made clear the fact that "the great body of High Churchmen were absolutely loyal to the church's system and rule and authority." He described point (2) as "the backbone of the declaration," though he pointed out that, while emphatic, it was by no means final, since the significance of the Ornaments Rubric had long been the subject of controversy among competent persons. The Archbishop of York, while welcoming the spirit of the movement embodied in the declaration, stated that he could not hope that peace for the church lay in the recognition of the ceremonial of the first prayer-book.

Renaissance of Nonconformity

One of the most significant religious tendencies of recent years was the renaissance of nonconformity in England. Revived interest of the English people in Wesleyan Methodism and other nonconforming sects was due to something more than the recurrence of the two hundred anniversary of the birth of John Wesley. It was the outcome of very sharp issues in English political and social life growing out of the status of the Established Church, and particularly out of the new education act, which increased the practical control of the Established Church over elementary schools supported by tax payers of all religious affiliations. "Thank God for your enemies," said Henry Ward Beecher, "for when you look back over your life, you will find that

they have done you more good than all of your friends." The position of the English nonconformists was a forcible illustration of the truth of Mr. Beecher's remark. As long as church rates, university tests, and the monopoly of the graveyard continued to remind the nonconformers that they were outlanders in the British commonwealth, their blood was up, but when the last of these three outrages disappeared, the fire of former days burned low.

The new law which reimposed church rates and re-enacted religious tests awoke nonconformists to a sense of where their apathy had led them. How great, how momentous the change thus brought about may be imagined from the fact that London nonconformists exulted in the leadership of three men, each of whom was pledged to take joyfully the spoiling of his goods and incarceration in jail, rather than pay the new rate levied for subsidizing religious teaching of which they disapproved. Dr. Clifford, the intrepid leader of the Baptists, stood at the head of the fighting line; the Rev. R. G. Campbell, who succeeded Joseph Parker at the City Temple of London, led the Congregationalists; while the Rev. Sylvester Horn, of the old Whitefield Tabernacle, led the Methodists. The jailing of the three nonconformist chiefs fanned the movement into a flame of revolt, and seemed to point to the fulfilment of Lord Palmerston's prophecy, " In the long run, English politics will follow the consciences of the dissenters."

II

Reginald G. Campbell was but thirty-six years old, of Scotch-Irish descent, the son of a minister, brought up as a boy in the north of Ireland, so that Scotland, England, and Ireland all had their share in shaping his youth. Born of free Methodists, reared as a Presbyterian, confirmed as a member of the Church of England, he surrendered himself at one time to the full fascination of the High Church school, but revolted against the bondage of the establishment, and abandoned the dream of becoming an Anglican priest. Having married before he went to Oxford, he began preaching up and down the villages before he entered that city; and four years after entering Christ Church as a prospective candidate for holy orders he became pastor of a small and empty church in Brighton. Nonconformity in that district had seldom been at a lower ebb than when Mr. Campbell began to preach. In a single year he had wrought a wondrous change, and within a few years

he was as famed throughout the land as the new Robertson. When Dr. Parker passed away, Campbell of Brighton was called to the vacant pulpit in the City Temple of London. Here he found a unique and splendid opportunity of making the City Temple the Metropolitan Cathedral of nonconformity.

A close friend of Mr. Campbell's, an Oxford man likewise, and almost the same age, the Rev. Sylvester Horn, in the same year accepted the responsible duty of making the renovated Whitefields Temple the social centre of that London district. Mr. Horn began to preach when he was a mere boy, learning the art of persuasive speech in his native Shropshire. He went to Glasgow, where his energy and enthusiasm marked him as a natural leader of men. Leaving Glasgow he went to Oxford, where he became the close friend and companion of Mr. Campbell. His first and only church up to 1903 was in fashionable Kensington. The transition from this parish to the democratic precincts of Whitefield's Tabernacle was a marked one. The advent of two such men as Mr. Campbell and Mr. Horn as leaders, when the death of Dr. Parker and Hugh Price Hughes deprived London nonconformists of two of their most eloquent chiefs, was an event of great moment. It coincided with the still further development of the social movement among the Wesleyans. The purchase of Westminster Aquarium to secure a site for the new Wesleyan Church House and the laying of the foundation stone of the new building of the mission, North London, were other nonconformist undertakings for the social and religious amelioration of decaying districts in London.

III

For centuries no act of the British parliament had met with resistance so strongly organized as that against the Education Act. It was organized on two lines. In England, on that of passive resistance to the payment of the education rate levied by the local authorities, or to the portion of it levied by the denominational schools; in Wales, on the line of refusal by the county councils to discharge the functions placed upon them by the act in regard to denominational schools, unless their managers agreed to submit to conditions not contained in the clauses of the act. The Central Passive Resistance Committee, by which the movement was promoted, was presided over by Dr. Clifford, Minister of Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel. Large gatherings of passive resisters

from all parts of the country were held in the City Temple in October, when it was announced that up to that time 6,492 summonses had been issued against persons refusing to pay the rate, and 229 distinct sales of goods had taken place. By the end of the year these figures had risen to 7,324 and 329, respectively.

Of several court reports of proceedings against those who refused to pay the education rate, this one is typical. At Leyburn a prominent Primitive Methodist, named John Moore, was summoned by Wm. Lambert, overseer of Low Abbotside, to recover the sum of £5 9s. 2d., of which £4 14s. 8d. was due for poor rate, 7s. 6d. for education rate, and the rest for expenses. Evidence was given by Mr. Lambert that the above rates were legally due. Mr. Moore: "Did I not tell you that it was a matter of conscience between us — that I strongly object to pay this education rate? Did I not offer on June 26 to give you a cheque for £4 7s. 2d., that was deducting 1d. in the £1 for education?" Witness: "Yes, you offered it; but I did not accept it." Mr. Moore: "Did I not write you a letter saying that I could not bring my conscience to pay a rate so unjust to all Free Churchmen, which violates the principles of religious freedom and liberty won for us by our forefathers?"

The chairman said that had nothing whatever to do with the case. They had to consider whether he should pay the rate which had been lawfully levied. Lord Bolton asked defendant what he had to say why he should not pay the rates. Mr. Moore replied that he objected on the ground of conscience. It was a question between his conscience and God. His conscience would not allow him to pay a rate so unjust to the churches, and which violated religious liberty. Lord Bolton: "We have nothing to do with conscience here. Our duty is to administer the law." The bench made an order for the full amount of the call, £5 9s. 2d., and stated, in answer to Mr. Moore, that if the amount was not paid, it would be levied by distress. Mr. Moore said it was not a question which concerned him alone, but hundreds of thousands, who held the same views with him.

The scenes at the auctions of property to pay the rates were more remarkable than the trials. One of these auctions is thus described: "Amidst much excitement and many hostile demonstrations against the auctioneer, Mr. Sydney Webster, of Belper, the second sale of eight

passive resisters' goods took place at the police station, Wirksworth. The chief constable of the county, Captain Holland, was present with a force of fifty police, besides plain clothes men. The goods sold included a treadle sewing machine belonging to the Rev. A. M. Aspland, Congregationalist, and a fancy table, ink-stand, coal-box, flower-stand, and brass kettle belonging to the Rev. Balmforth Noble, Baptist; a wagonette belonging to Mr. Herbert Palin, a gold watch of Mr. Benjamin Clayton's, and a silver watch belonging to Mr. Thomas Charles Smith, of Ashley Hay. The hostile demonstrations of the hundreds of people assembled made it impossible to hear a single word the auctioneer had to say. The noise was deafening. The auctioneer knocked down several lots at ridiculous prices till he came to the valuable gold watch and the wagonette; these were bought in by friends of the resisters."

IV

Following the City Temple meetings, the new Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a letter to Dr. R. F. Horton, a well-known Congregational minister of Hampstead, suggesting that they should have a conference to discuss conditions under which efficient Christian and denominational religious teaching might be secured in elementary schools without giving offense in any quarter. Dr. Horton, in replying said that no conferences could be profitably held unless it were agreed at the outset that all schools maintained by public money must be absolutely under public control, and that all teachers in them must be appointed by public authority without reference to denominational distinctions. Those whom he represented felt that a conference would be ill-timed, while the government gave no indication of being conscious of any defect in the education act.

On December 12, the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a public letter to Lord Ashcomb, as the Chairman of the Church Committees, in which he stated that the attack on the education acts, as conducted by such leaders as Dr. Clifford, was in fact a covert attack on the Church of England. He pointed out that a national scheme of education set forth by the Free Church Council proposed to upset the fundamental principle of the act of 1870 by prohibiting the giving of any denominational teaching within school hours in any school whatever which receives a government grant, and to prohibit inquiry as to a

teacher's qualifications to give religious teaching. The Archbishop held that there could be no giving way by churchmen in this matter.

At a great conference held at Swansea, Wales, on May 19, a resolution had been passed to the effect that the county councils could not apply money from the rates in the aid of schools over which they did not possess entire control, and in which sectarian tests for teachers were imposed. The result was that the salaries of teachers in denominational schools remained unpaid, and as winter advanced there was not enough fuel to keep the pupils warm. Lord Londonderry, in reply to a correspondent who drew his attention to this state of things, announced that the government would not hesitate to take, at the proper time, such steps as might be necessary to prevent the objects of the act from being defeated. Despite difficulties from these sources the act was in operation in many parts of England. The Bishops of London and Rochester issued a letter in which they urged churchmen to exert themselves to see that candidates should be pledged to the fair and impartial administration of the law.

In Honor of John Wesley

In the month of June many people in all countries celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Wesley. The greatness of Wesley was illustrated in the admitted fact that among hundreds of strong and able religious leaders belonging to the different branches of Methodism all acknowledged and honored the name of Wesley as a founder. Wherever the power of England extended there Wesley's followers had gone. They were numerous in South Africa and Asia, and in all the islands owned by England. Their missions, especially those of the Wesleyan Church, were ably sustained and wonderfully successful. Altogether it was estimated that, including communicants and adherents, they numbered 6,000,000 in Great Britain and its possessions. Numerically the Methodist movement reached its largest development in the United States, where its first class was formed in 1776. Official statistics of American Methodism showed 6,192,494 communicants, distributed among seventeen sects or families. The two largest bodies were the Methodist Episcopal Church with 2,822,765 communicants, and the Methodist Episcopal Church South with 1,533,766 communicants.

The educational and philanthropic institutions of English Methodism were numerous. They were patronized and supported not only by its own denomination, but by many communicants of the Established Church, by dissenting bodies, and by many persons not connected with any religious organization. In Canada Methodism was thoroughly organized, liberal, highly influential, and in all respects prosperous. In the United States scarcely a state existed without a Methodist preparatory school and a prosperous college, and there are several universities under Methodist control which compare favorably with the institutions of the highest class. Missions of Methodism were found in every land with churches, orphanages, schools for children and youth, and colleges and professional schools. Twenty years ago American Methodists turned their attention to hospitals, and in two decades erected more than fifty.

The movement begun by John Wesley, had far-reaching results outside of the religious denominations which owed their origin to his inspiring example. The influence of the Wesleyan movement on the Church of England and other Christian bodies was frankly acknowledged at the London celebration in terms so eulogistic that their sincerity could not be doubted. It was conceded that Wesleyism had modified the spirit and methods of every denomination, particularly in preaching, congregational singing, lay coöperation, and zeal and directness in religious assemblies. Its service to the state was recognized in elevating the standard of public and private morality, in promoting total abstinence, the protection of the Sabbath, the suppression of lotteries and gambling. It had also been a promoter of popular education and a defender of the public school system. The man and the movement had remained one during the one hundred and seventy-five years, for there is no method or custom which peculiarly distinguished Methodists which was not originated, adopted, or adapted by John Wesley.

At the meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Wesley, President Roosevelt paid a high tribute to the work of the Methodist Church in the pioneer days of America. "The pioneer preachers," he said, "warred against the forces of spiritual evil with the same fiery zeal and energy that they and their fellows showed in the conquest of the rugged continent. They had in them the heroic spirit, the spirit that scorns ease if it must

be purchased by the failure to do duty. The spirit that courts risk and a life of hard endeavor if the goal to be reached is really worth attaining."

On the first of January it was announced that the last dollar of the \$20,000,000 fund begun three years previous had been raised. Of this sum it was planned to use \$8,000,000 for educational purposes, \$8,000,000 for paying off church debts; \$1,500,000 for the benefit of superannuated clergymen, and the remainder for hospitals and miscellaneous purposes. The achievement was a triumph which had few precedents in church history, and one that could have been achieved only by a systematic and effective campaign of a large, earnest, and militant religious body.

Baptist Growth

Representatives of the Baptist churches of the Northern States held their annual May meeting in Buffalo. The principal societies participating were the American Baptist Missionary Union, the American Baptist Publication Society, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Historical Society, the Young People's Union, and the Women's Home Missionary Society. The total number of Baptists, North and South, was reported to be 4,330,462. The churches numbered 44,829, and the ordained ministers 30,809. Contributions for all purposes during the year closing in May amounted to over \$15,000,000. The missionary union, the foreign mission society of the church, reported a deficit of \$20,468.92. Contributions for the year to this branch of the church work were \$722,767.67, a gain of \$46,553.83. The deficit was due to the sending out of a score of new missionary families. In Europe, Asia, and Africa the society had 505 missionaries, 2,617 preachers, 2,040 churches, 222,034 members, 1,046 schools, and 37,844 pupils.

The aggregate of Baptist educational institutions in the United States was 91 academies, girls' seminaries, and schools of secondary grade, 103 colleges and universities, 9 theological seminaries: the total value of the property and endowment being more than \$48,000,000. The Baptists have established homes for orphans in twenty of the States and territories of this country, and homes for the aged in a dozen different cities, the most noteworthy being the one in Philadel-

phia, the property valued at \$335,000. Seven Baptist hospitals were reported, and various other philanthropies for the poor and sick.

Congregational Activities

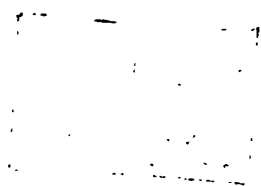
The work of the Congregationalists reported great growth in institutional churches equipped with gymnasiums, reading rooms, boys' clubs, summer outings for tired mothers and sickly children, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, hospitals, sailor's homes, and great activities in foreign missions. Hospitals and dispensaries are found in a score of centers, notably in Turkey at Aintab, Marsivan, Van, and Mardin. In Madura, India, the hospital is a splendid structure, well equipped and ministering to seventeen thousand natives in one year. Other large hospitals in India are at Ahmednagar and Dindigal. But it is largely through its higher institutions of learning that Congregationalism is uplifting the oriental nations. To them, through the renowned Cyrus Hamlin, is due the foundation of Roberts College, at Constantinople, from which every year hundreds of students go forth to business and professional life in Turkey and Bulgaria. A sister institution at Constantinople is the American College for Girls, conducted by Miss Mary M. Patrick. The denomination is represented at Harpoot, Turkey, by Euphrates College. In India is Pasumalai Institute, while the college in North China destroyed by the Boxers was one of the best educational plants in that empire. In all, the American board maintains in foreign lands a dozen colleges of the first rank and over two thousand schools of various grades.

Presbyterian Measures

The One Hundred and Fifteenth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, held in Los Angeles for ten days, beginning May 21, elected Dr. Robert Coyle, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church in Denver, as moderator, to succeed Dr. Henry van Dyke. The most important act of the Assembly was the enactment of the revised confession of faith proposed by the last general assembly, and approved by a majority of the Presbyterians. In speaking of the finished work of the committee, Dr. van Dyke said: "The object of the creed revision is to promote greater harmony; to put in some things we now believe and to put out others. By this revision we mean to broaden and



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strengthen the foundations of the Presbyterian Church. It does not mean that a stone in the great foundation of the church, which has stood infallible for 250 years, has been shaken. It does mean that the faith embraces all the little children of the world and is offered to all who will become as little children." The Rev. Dr. James H. Hoadley, of New York city, a member of the committee, in commenting on the fact that only three presbyteries had voted against the revision as a whole, said: "The negative side has no representation, as compared with the affirmative. Last year the conservative members said that by this time everything would be coming their way, but you see how it is; this action is the outgrowth of careful and well-weighed thought on the part of conservative thinkers, and the whole assembly practically is for revision."

Another important matter was the appointment of a committee to raise \$12,000,000 for educational purposes within three years. A report favoring coöperation, confederation and consolidation with those branches of the churches of faith akin to the Presbyterian in doctrine and organization was made by Dr. van Dyke. The plan met with the hearty approval of the Assembly, and a committee was appointed to enter into correspondence with any such churches; also to confer with the Congregational churches in regard to a practical plan of comity.

Pan-American Episcopal Convention

A Pan-American convention of the Protestant Episcopal and Anglican Bishops of the United States, Canada, West Indies and Mexico, was held in Washington to discuss a number of questions, chief of which were the marriage of divorced persons and the attitude of the Episcopal Church toward the Roman Catholic communion. The following resolutions on divorce were adopted by the convention: (1) That the church's attitude toward the question of marriage and divorce, in order to protect the institutions of Christian marriage and the Christian family, should be a bold utterance of the sacred and mystical character of marriage, based upon the primal revelations of its character as reënacted by our Lord's own words, "No more twain, but one flesh," and "What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;" (2) That in the alarming prevalence of divorce

and of the re-marriage of divorced persons, the Bishops assembled here declare their conviction that while the sacraments of the church should not be denied to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery, the sanction of the church should not be given to any re-marriage after divorce for any cause arising after marriage.

The resolutions adopted by the Bishops concerning the relation of their church to the Roman Catholics urged a firm, though charitable attitude. After declaring the Episcopal organization to be a true and living part of the Holy Catholic Church, the resolutions declare: (1) That while no witness can be borne for truth without antagonizing error, whether of excess or defect, this earnest contention for the faith once delivered to the saints, should be with unlimited charity to the Roman Catholic clergy and people rather in the spirit of maintenance, defence and proof than of controversy and attack; (2) That the right of this church to enter countries where there are churches subject to the Roman obedience, such as the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Mexico and Brazil, rests partly on the necessity of ministering to its own people in these countries and partly on the duty to give the privileges of the church to Christian people deprived of them unless they submit to unlawful terms of communion; (3) That we should be more ready and outspoken than we have been in teaching our young people in our congregation as to important matters on which there is difference between the Roman Church and ourselves, and in guarding them against being misled; (4) That we most earnestly urge that in the case of marriages between members of our own church and those of the Roman Church our own members should be warned by no means to promise, as they will be asked to do, that their children be brought up in the faith and worship of the Roman Church.

II

A Papal bill concerning religious questions in the Philippines was given out in January, in which the question of the immediate withdrawal of the friars was set at rest, Pope Leo declaring that they would remain in charge of the parishes until they can be taken by native priests. The portion having most significance in the United States was as follows: "Now remains for us to address some observations inspired by paternal charity to all the natives of the Philip-

pine Islands, and to exhort them with all our soul to preserve unity in the bonds of peace. The profession of Christianity demands this, and the same things are demanded by the interests of religion and by true patriotism."

Lutheran Federation

In the Lutheran denomination there was a well defined movement to unite the independent Lutheran synods, and consolidate the score of denominations under which Lutheranism is divided in the United States into one great brotherhood. The effort did not touch the two greater bodies of the Lutheran Church, the General Synod, including nearly all the English Lutheran Churches with a membership of over 500,000, and the General Council with a membership of over 350,000. The remaining synods not having attained any such proportion, the desire for the strength that is in union was more pronounced among them. Five were already federated in the synodical conference. The attempt at union was initiated with a conference called at Watertown, Wis., attended by 200 ministers. Interest in the subject grew rapidly, in consequence of the discussions there occurring, and when a second conference convened later at Milwaukee the attendance was 700. In the plans for union there was no proposal for ignoring differences, and the delegates present set themselves to argue out their theological disputes, which hindered the progress toward union for two days. On the third and final day the sentiment for unity began to manifest itself, and there was a marked *rapprochement* among the factions present. It was agreed to submit a program for union to a third conference to meet in 1904.

Progress Toward Denominational Unity

At Pittsburg, in April, representatives of the Congregational, Methodist Protestant, and United Brethren churches met to consider ways and means for bringing about a union of the three bodies. A sub-committee met in Washington a month later, and agreed upon a report which was approved by a committee in Pittsburg on the first of July, and was later submitted to the churches. The report declared that the three denominations are in practical agreement in matters of doctrine. By the plan agreed upon each church was to retain its

present name, with the addition of the words "In affiliation with the General Council of United Churches," and it was recommended that a general council be created, composed of representatives of the three federating bodies, to have advisory powers. The report stated that the purpose of the General Council shall be: (1) To present as far as we possibly can a realization of that unity which seems so greatly desired by Christian churches; (2) To promote a better knowledge and a closer fellowship among the Christian bodies thus united; (3) To secure the coördination and unification of the three bodies in evangelistic, educational, and missionary work; (4) To adopt a plan by which the three bodies may be brought into coördinate activity and organic unity—a unity representing some form of connectionalism; (5) To prevent the unnecessary multiplication of churches, to unite weak churches of the same neighborhood wherever it is practicable, and to invite and encourage the affiliation with this council of other Christian bodies cherishing a kindred faith and purpose.

Statistics of Churches in the United States

According to the annual compilation of church statistics by Mr. H. K. Carroll, denominations in our country having more than 100,000 communicants ranked as follows in 1903 in numerical importance: Roman Catholic, 9,762,264 (stated by the official directory of the church as 11,387,317); Methodist Episcopal, 2,822,765; Southern Baptist, 1,777,466; Colored Baptist, 1,625,330; Methodist Episcopal South, 1,533,766; Disciples of Christ, 1,235,798; Northern Presbyterian, 1,044,161; Northern Baptist, 1,023,438; African Methodist Episcopal, 785,000; Protestant Episcopal, 773,261; Congregationalist, 659,704; African Methodist Episcopal Zion, 551,591; Lutheran, Synodical Conference, 546,341; Lutheran, General Council, 362,658; Latter-Day Saints, Utah branch, 300,000; German Reformed, 255,880; United Brethren, 248,878; Southern Presbyterians, 235,142; Lutheran General Synod, 216,926; German Evangelical Synod, 209,791; Colored Methodist Episcopal, 207,723; Cumberland Presbyterian, 185,113; Methodist Protestant, 184,040; Lutheran United Norwegian, 139,127; Primitive Baptists, 126,000; United Presbyterians, 118,734; Dutch Reformed, 113,499; and Christian Connection, 101,597. The largest of the denominations, leaving out of

account doctrinal or sectional divisions which have separated the denominations into smaller bodies, were: Catholic, 9,891,869; Methodist, 6,192,494; Baptist, 4,725,775; Lutheran, 1,715,910; and Presbyterian, 1,661,522. The total membership of the religious bodies of the United States was 29,323,158 as against 28,840,699 in 1902. The number of ministers increased from 147,732 to 149,963 and the churches from 194,072 to 196,719.

The gains of the communicants were much smaller than those reported in 1902. The corrected gains for 1902 were 555,414, showing a difference of 72,955. This was explained by the abnormal increase reported by the Roman Catholic Church in 1902. But it is curious that while the net increase in communicants was considerably less than in 1902, that of ministers and churches was much greater. The increase of ministers in the former year was 1,339; in 1903 it was 2,231 — over fifty per cent advance. The net increase of churches in 1902 was 1,217; in 1903 it was 2,647 — more than a hundred per cent net gain. The largest gain in communicants was attributed to the Roman Catholic Church — 166,010. The next largest, curiously enough, was reported by a colored body, the African Methodist Episcopal Church — 56,646; the Southern Baptists stood third with 40,000; the Disciples of Christ fourth, with 28,421; and the Methodist Episcopal Church fifth with 20,967, the Methodist Episcopal Church South being credited with 20,119. The gains of all the Methodist bodies were 112,946, or twenty per cent of the whole grand total. The Baptists of all branches increased 61,146; the Lutherans, 36,567; and the Presbyterians, 26,506. The Protestant Episcopal Church showed an advance of 15,209.

The Christian Scientists reported a gain of 102 ministers and 55 churches with 8,675 communicants, making a total of 60,283 communicants in the United States. The annual communion season, which is the other name for convention, of the Christian Science Church, held in Boston in July, was attended by over 10,000 members. In his annual report the clerk of the church, William B. Johnston, called attention to the rapid growth in membership. "December 30, 1894, was the date of the first communion service in the Mother Church at Boston, and at that date there had been admitted to membership 3,881. The membership in 1903 was 27,796, of which number 3,696 united

during the preceding year. The number of branch churches was 566, and the number of societies holding regular services was 203. According to the statistics compiled by the clerk, the death rate in the church for 1903 was 2.024 per one thousand, as against 2.32 for the preceding year, while the death rate for the city of Boston for the same time was 18.73 per 1,000. A feature of the convention was the pilgrimage to the home of Mrs. Eddy, Concord, N. H., where the pilgrims were addressed by the founder. Among the diseases mentioned by delegates to the convention as having been healed during the year were consumption, withered limbs, Bright's disease, hay-fever, heart disease, rheumatism and Asiatic cholera. The report showed a large growth of the church in other countries.

Young People's Organizations

In July three national conventions of Young People's Societies were held in one week, that of the Society of Christian Endeavor at Denver; that of the Baptist Young People's Union at Atlanta, and that of the Universalists Young People's Union at Akron, O. A noteworthy achievement of the first named was the launching of a movement for the amalgamation of the Christian Endeavor Society, the Epworth League, and the Baptist Young People's Union. A plan was presented in the form of a petition to the other two societies from the Endeavorers, who, in taking the initiative for such a union, pointed to the priority of their society. Statistics showed that the Christian Endeavor Society had a membership of 3,822,200, and a net gain of over 2,000 in the number of societies during the preceding year. In his presidential address, President Clark urged the inauguration of a definite campaign to double the number and efficiency of Christian Endeavor Societies in a single decade. As a proof of the possibility of such a feat he pointed to the remarkable growth of the Society during the preceding year, not only in the United States, but all over the world. At the meeting of the Baptist Young People at Atlanta, a closer union of North and South was urged, one of the speakers going so far as to declare that it was time for Northern people to stop putting Uncle Tom's Cabin before their children. The Universalists Young People signalized one of their meetings by offering a prayer for the recovery of the Pope.

II

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the world's committee of the Young Men's Christian Association was celebrated in Geneva, Switzerland. Clarence J. Hicks and John R. Mott, associate secretaries, with Richard C. Morse, of the international committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, represented the American associations. Leading men of the association from all countries comprised the committee. Among the members were Sir George Williams, who founded the association in London in 1844; Prince Oscar Bernadotte, representing Sweden; Count Bernstorff, Germany; K. Ibuka, Japan, and James Stokes, Cephas Brainerd, H. B. Ames, and R. C. Morse, America. The president of the committee was Professor Edouard Barde, of Geneva. A feature of the meeting was the presentation to Charles Fermaud, for twenty-five years general secretary of the committee, of a sum of money in recognition of his work of twenty-five years in developing the associations in Europe, which numbered 4,551. The world's committee had trebled its force in a few years, and was rapidly extending associations in Russia, Portugal, Spain, and Greece. This committee established the national committee of France. In Asia there were 280 associations, of which 43 were in China, 151 in India, and 54 in Japan. There were 20 in Africa and 18 in Oceanica. America had by far the largest membership, numbering 350,455, and possessed nearly four times as much property as the associations of all the other countries in the world combined. Great Britain had 935 associations, with 98,449 members, owning buildings valued at \$3,000,000.

Church Statistics for London and New York

Some interesting church statistics were found in the religious census of London of 1903, which was based on the Sunday attendance at all places of worship in the city. Out of the total population of 4,536,501 in attendance at the Church of England was 430,153; at non-conformists churches, 416,225; at Roman Catholic, 93,572; at other services, 62,990. Of the last named 26,360 were Jews, 553 were Christian Scientists. It was estimated that 35 per cent went to church twice on Sunday, making a ratio of one in 5.025 of the population.

A census of the church congregations of New York City was made to ascertain the number of persons who actually attend religious

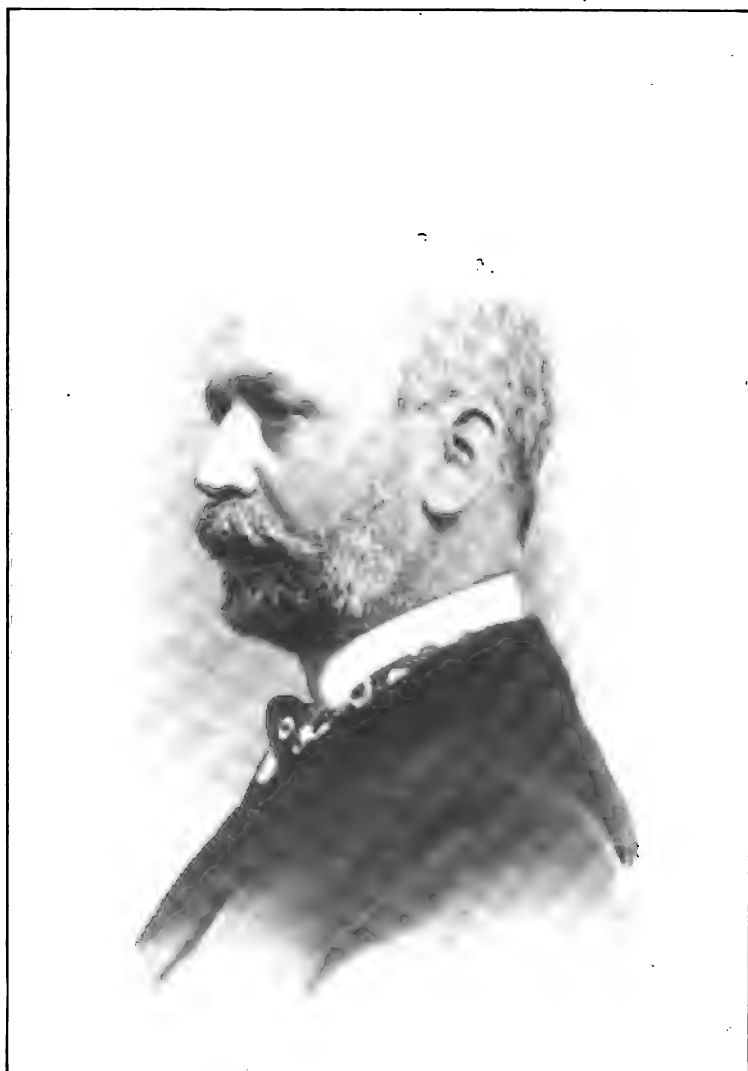
services on Sunday. Estimating the total population of Manhattan borough at 2,007,350 (of which 381,934 are presumed to be Jews and therefore not within the scope of the inquiry), 427,135 were found to be in attendance at church, a proportion of 26.2 per cent, or one in every 3.82 inhabitants. A census of London gave approximately the same result, or one in 4.45. There were found in New York 451 places of public worship, claiming a membership of 664,885, and in attendance upon services were 427,135 persons, or 64.2 per cent of the membership. Of these churches, 366 were Protestant and eighty-five Roman Catholic. The Protestant churches claimed 153,380 members, and had 138,106 attendance. The Roman Catholic churches claimed 511,505 members, or population attached, and had 289,029 attendance. There were more women in attendance at all the churches than men.

Statistics for New York City, dealing with the wealth of its churches, showed that the property belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church footed up to nearly \$45,000,000, leading all other churches in this respect. Next came the Jewish churches with property valued at nearly \$12,000,000 which was more than double that owned by the Methodists, the next in the list. The Dutch Reformed Church valued its property at \$4,700,000. The Baptists and Quakers valued theirs at very little below that figure, and the Christian Scientists, the newest comers in the field, were credited with \$607,000. Another set of statistics showed that the cost of conversions in 248 New York churches, evenly divided as to size, ranged from \$150.14 to \$262.22 per convert. This estimate took no account of the capital invested in the plant of the church, but merely that in running expenses. These statistics gave weight to Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis's suggestion that better and more economical results could be obtained by concentration and consolidation, the building of larger and more central institutions.

"Los von Rom"

A report of the progress of the "Los von Rom" movement from its rise four years previous showed that fifty Protestant places of worship had been erected in Roman Catholic districts of Germany and Austria affected by the movement. In 120 towns and villages regular Protestant services were conducted for the first time since the counter reformation. In addition to about 100 preaching stations with intermittant

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services, ninety young preachers, the majority being from Germany, had devoted themselves to the work, of whom about eighty remained in Austria. The total number of those who had left the Church of Rome in connection with the movement was at least 34,000, of whom over 25,000 joined Evangelical bodies, and over 9,000 the Old Catholics. In Bohemia alone before the movement began there were only eighteen Protestant parochial districts; there were now fifty. Progress if not on so large a scale, was reported from Styria and other crown lands of Austria.

Religious Affairs in Germany

The German religious world was in a peculiarly disturbed condition. The theoretical materialism of fifty years ago had disappeared, leaving behind it a practical materialism using such current phrases of thought as evolution, degeneracy, the overman to express its fundamental creed that man is but a type of animal. In this materialism was recognized a foe to art, culture, ethics and religion, against which teachers, preachers and even scientists declared battle.

Religious statistics of the German Empire showed that 62½ per cent of the population were Protestants, almost all members of one or another of the various State churches, numbering in all over 35,000,000. Of Roman Catholics there were over 20,000,000. In the whole German Empire there were only 558,853 who registered themselves as Jews, fewer than in the borough of Manhattan. Only 17,535 professed no religion whatever.

Count von Bülow, in announcing that he would move in the imperial bundesrath the readmission of the Jesuits into Germany, called attention to Catholic growth in Germany. "That the Center party is fully conscious of its strength is shown by the great victory which it won recently in removing the minister president of Bavaria, Count von Crailsheim, a Protestant, from office. It is interesting to note in connection with the present political situation that the ultramontanes have gained numerically in all parts of Germany. This is especially true in Saxony, a Protestant state, with a Catholic royal house. While in 1834 the number of Catholics there was over 27,000, Saxony now has over 200,000. This large increase is due to immigration coming from Bavaria, Silesia and Bohemia."

Great excitement was caused in Germany in the month of March by a declaration from the Bishop of Treves, read from all the Roman Catholic pulpits of the City of Treves, forbidding Catholic parents to send their children to non-Catholic schools, and particularly to the High School for Girls at Treves, at which all teaching was equally divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Bishop of Treves had gone so far as to direct his clergy to refuse absolution to parents who did not comply with the declaration, and a question was addressed to the government on the subject in Prussian dialect. Chancellor von Bülow, in reply, condemned the bishop, saying further that he would draw the attention of the Vatican to his conduct in the matter. The result was that the bishop withdrew his manifesto.

II

Religious denominations in Germany were aroused to an active controversy over the Emperor's declaration of faith in a letter addressed on February 13 to Admiral Hollman, member of the Council of the German Oriental Society. The Emperor had attended a meeting of that Society at which Professor Delitsch, the well known Assyriologist, had delivered a lecture contending that the monotheism of the Jews was derived from the polytheism of the Babylonians. The lecture gave rise to the heated "Babel und Bibel" controversy, and the supposition that the Emperor was inclined to agree with the professor caused considerable agitation among the more orthodox German Lutherans whom the Emperor's letter sought to appease. He declared it a grave mistake that Professor Delitsch should have approached the question of revelation in a polemical spirit. The Emperor announced his credo as follows: "(1) I believe in only one God; (2) We need a form in order to teach His existence, especially for our children; (3) This form has hitherto been the Old Testament in its present version, which will be positively and substantially modified under the influences of research and inscriptions and excavations, but it does not matter that much of a nimbus of the chosen people will thereby disappear. The kernel and the contents remain always the same — God and his works. Religion has never been the output of science but the outpouring of the heart and being of man from his intercourse with God."

The Kaiser's declaration of faith did little to satisfy either the stricter Lutherans or the Roman Catholics, inasmuch as the author

enumerated in the same letter among the special instruments of divine revelation "Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant and Emperor William the Great." In October he supplemented this declaration on the occasion of the confirmation of two of his sons by stating that "The whole of human life hinges simply and solely upon our attitude towards our Lord and Saviour," that, in addition to Christ "Men had peopled heaven with many splendid figures of pious Christians, who were called the saints, and to whom they appealed for succor, but that all this was of minor importance, and, indeed, vain. The Saviour remained the one helper and deliverer." For this second declaration he was taken sharply to task by the Roman Catholic press.

Switzerland's Religious Difficulties

Switzerland, by a decree of June 5 gave notice to several religious orders that they must find shelter elsewhere, allowing them, as in the preceding year, a delay amounting in some cases to three months. The resolution of the previous year against certain communities had not been carried out till after the expiration of several months, during which those concerned might have recourse to the Federal Assembly if they considered the measures contrary to the spirit of the constitution, instead of which they had merely demanded a prolongation of the delay, or pleaded the modifications which might be made in the character of their particular communities. The Federal Council passed the resolution on July 5 with a view to ensuring the execution of the law in all cases where it was applicable. To get the situation clearly in mind it is necessary to remember that the country is divided into 24 civil cantons, of which 12 are mainly Protestant, while 12 are chiefly Catholic. Each canton has the right to choose and establish its own form of religion, and to exercise certain measures to restrain citizens from such public acts as tend to endanger the public peace. This is what rendered the propagandism of the Salvation Army peculiarly difficult. A Protestant living in a Catholic canton is not required to pay for the support of the church established in that section, and the same is true of a Catholic in a Protestant canton. By the close of 1903 the problem was partially solved by the voluntary exodus of several of the religious orders.

A Heresy Hunt

The most sensational heresy hunt of the year was that directed against Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University. The formal charges of heresy were made by the Rev. George A. Cook, pastor of the Trinity Methodist Church, West Medford, Mass. Mr. Cook charged Dr. Bowne with disseminating views concerning the Deity, the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, the atonement of Christ, eschatology and Christian experience, which were contrary to the plain teaching of the holy scriptures, and the recognized standards of doctrine in the Methodist Episcopal Church. A storm of editorial disapproval in both the secular and religious press pointed to the almost final passing of the heresy-hunting spirit. Outside the heresy hunters Dr. Bowne was recognized as an inspiring philosophical teacher, and the real charge against him seemed to be this, that there was a certain system of philosophy labeled Methodism, to depart from which is to be heretical. Dr. Bowne was not a radical iconoclast, nor did he belong to the revolutionary and destructive school of higher critics. The trial reflected more upon the hunters than upon the hunted.

Faith Cure and Charlatanism

The passing of charlatanism in religion was emphasized by the unfriendly demonstration which greeted John Alexander Dowie when he attempted to storm New York City. No sincere religious movement however grotesque its methods, was ever received with such derision in New York. Its citizens refused to consider him as anything but the promoter of Zion City. His well-advertised and spectacular entry made no impression. Representatives of the modern Elijah were in the City some days in advance of the advent of the Host making preparations for the meetings in the Garden, and for the care of the pilgrims. All of the latter were lodged in cheap hotels and lodging houses, while the leader had luxurious rooms at the Plaza Hotel and rode to and from the meetings in his own carriage sent on for the purpose. Three thousand five hundred Zionites were brought from their Western home in eight special trains. The entire expedition was under the direct personal management of Dowie, and the plan of the campaign included the holding of mass meetings in Madison Square Garden and a personal canvas from house to house

by the followers of Dowie, who left their blessing and a small tract. Dowie failed to reach the great population, even with the aid of all of his machinery, and he left the impression behind that he was either a charlatan or but one more in that long procession of religious cranks.

An opinion by Judge Hoyt of the New York Court of Appeals on the practice of faith cure was far-reaching in its consequences: "Full and free enjoyment of religious profession and worship is guaranteed," reads the decision, "but acts which are not worship, are not. A person cannot be excused from punishment for slaying those who have been born to him by the practice of faith cure, or absent treatment."

II

The annual pilgrimage to the Grotto of the Virgin at Lourdes, France, came to a close without any cures having been reported. The pilgrimage is held for three days every year in the week immediately following the Feast of the Assumption. During that period in 1903, 950 patients were carried to the Grotto, where cures are said to be effected, and 9,000 masses were said. On the closing day of the pilgrimage, a procession of over 2,000 priests marked the end of the ceremonies, although individual pilgrimages had taken place at all times of the year. The belief in the healing quality of the spring at Lourdes in the Grotto where the Virgin is said to have disclosed the miraculous properties of the spring in 1858, is so widespread and so firmly held that among the pilgrims was a Roman Catholic peer of England, who visited the Grotto with his invalid son and heir in the hope that a cure might be effected.

CHAPTER XV

BOOKS AND PLAYS

The effect of industrialism on literature, the deterioration in English prose style, the decline of a high-spirited quality of writing and the mildly revolutionary methods of some of the new writers were some of the more general aspects of literature widely discussed throughout the year. There were a great many contentions in America, at least, that prosperity and commercialism had interrupted the progress of real literature. The question did not stand careful analysis because too much stress was laid on the prosperity argument, whereas the problem involved even more important conditions which were almost ignored. It was pointed out that oppression and adverse economical conditions on the one hand, and freedom on the other, may each shape the tendencies of literature. The one tendency may work for tragedy, the other for comedy, yet each possesses greatness. In the first case we are made to see life in all its seriousness; sorrow, passion, remorse are the characters that play the chief roles, and they find their expression often in morbid philosophy.

One English critic argued that authorship had become a mere moneymaking trade, and the fortunes made by authors out of mediocre works of fiction were pointed to as proof of this contention. Moreover it was claimed that syndicates, agents, and multiple reviewers had so debauched the author's trade that if he possessed not a noble temperament, or a high respect for literature he could not help vaunting his wealth or intriguing for good notices. The quality of the work was not seriously considered. A name, of course, might carry commercial weight, but once the name had found its value it mattered little to the agent or the syndicate what was the stuff to which it was affixed. The book was reviewed, often unread, on the day of publication, and forgotten in a week unless extensively advertised.

The charge of deterioration of style was bound up in that of the

commercialization of literature. It was quite generally admitted that the older writers were the architects with words. Their leisurely habits of composition and their insistence on definite canons of literary criticism led to a mastery of a style almost hopeless for our younger authors to attempt to acquire. The enormous extension of newspapers and magazines draws so heavily upon the general fund of literary talent that those engaging in ephemeral and fugitive writing for a lifetime cannot expect to find a fixed place in literature. A learned professor of history declared that a modern historian would be insulted if he were said to have a style. Style, he said, was not the business of the historian. Matter, not manner, was the strongest demand of the hour in every department of literature. Along with the deterioration of style was recognized a decline in the quality of exuberance that characterized some of the masterpieces of other days. Our authors with all their many virtues of sobriety, lucidity, and truthfulness seemed to have grown a little thin and pale and prim, and to have lost a certain high spirited quality destined to keep literature young and fresh. It was noted that the kind of writing that is large and easy and unrestrained had become very rare.

A new note in literature was struck by certain mildly revolutionary writers who found their teachers in Stevenson and Bernard Shaw, Mr. Claude Bragdon aptly described them as follows: "They take nothing for granted, recognize no constituted authority; they interrogate the conditions under which life must be lived, are critical without pessimism of the existing order, while not unhopeful of a new and a better one. According to the modern notion a man should be something of an artist in life. He should appear to play his part easily with dash and gusto, like the acrobat who performs each dangerous feat smiling. This is the feather in the cap of courage,—bravery with humor added. It is the spirit in which Lungtungpen was taken, in which Cyrano composed his ballad while he fought a duel, for Cyrano and Allen Breck, no less than Mulvaney and Sherlock Holmes, are very modern heroes. The melodramatic gloom of Byron, the lachrymose pathos of Dickens, and the shallow sentimentality of Thackeray touched the source of our tears less surely than sheer gay-heartedness and courage in the face of disease, difficulty or danger. This is the modern note. With the new humor all are by this time familiar, but

the new pathos is less recognized and understood. Mr. Barrie notably possesses its secret."

Biography

The most notable achievement in English letters in the year 1903 was Mr. John Morley's "Life of Gladstone" (Macmillan), the life of "pius Æneas by fidus Achates," as Mr. W. T. Stead happily characterized the work. The selection of Mr. Morley by the heirs and political legatees of Mr. Gladstone to write the official biography was from the first considered a most fortunate one, and after its publication there did not arise the slightest criticism of the manner in which Mr. Morley accomplished the great and honorable task assigned him. It was at once hailed as a book worthy of the greatest of English statesmen by one of England's greatest men of letters. Considering the character of the book, its price, the fact that it was published in three volumes, its sales were remarkable, both in England and in America, breaking the record so long held in the publishing world by "Macaulay's History of England." Some idea of the mere manual labor involved in producing it may be obtained from the author's statement that in the preparation of the work between two and three hundred thousand written papers passed under his view.

Naturally the work was quite as much a political history of the Victorian era since, as Mr. Morley said, the subject was a man who was four times at the head of the Government — no phantom, but dictator, who held this office of First Minister for a longer time than any other statesman in the reign of Queen Victoria. Mr. Morley could not tell the story of his works and ways without reference, and ample reference, to the course of events over whose unrolling he presided, and out of which he made history. The personal reminiscences of Mr. Gladstone furnished by Mr. Morley were almost entirely contained in the third volume, near the end of which we find the following item modestly couched in a foot note: "One poor biographic item perhaps the tolerant reader will grudge me leave to copy from Mr. Gladstone's diary: 'October 6, 1892 — Saw J. Morley and made him Envoy to ———. He is, on the whole, about the best stay I have.'"

The great work included reminiscences of Gladstone's childhood, the stories of his school days at Eton, the record of his life at Oxford, the ups and downs of the political hurly burly, his political evolution from his early Toryism to later Liberalism, his long fight as the champion of home rule, his relations with his contemporaries, his religion and his personal characteristics. Mr. Gladstone had lived so constantly in the open, had played his part under the blaze of such brilliant footlights that there were no new or sensational revelations to be unearthed. Mr. Morley allowed himself the liberty of revealing what are known as cabinet secrets, and which no one is supposed to reveal until all the actors are dead, but he had full warrant for doing so from the highest authority, and the permission to remove the veil which concealed the proceedings of ministerial conclaves from the public eye added much to the interest of the work.

Mr. Gladstone himself, when nearing the grave, had written many notes which served Mr. Morley well as material for the biography. In some of these he proclaimed his manifold imperfections, and made humble confessions of his sins. The most remarkable instance of this penitential attitude is afforded by his public acknowledgment of the gross blunder which he committed when in 1862 he publicly declared at a time when he was a Minister of the Crown that Jefferson Davis had made a nation. Writing on this point in 1896 he said: " I have yet to record an undoubted error, the most singular and palpable, I may add the least excusable of them all, especially since it was committed as late as the year 1862 when I had outlived a half century." In dealing with Gladstone's religious life Mr. Morley showed that not for two centuries, since the historic strife of Anglican and Puritan, had England produced a ruler in whom a religious motive was paramount in a like degree. He was not only a political force, he strove to use all the powers of his own genius, and the powers of state for purposes moral and religious.

In addition to the admirable construction of the biography, Mr. Morley's style gave it a rare literary distinction. It preserved its writer's admirable qualities of lucidity and limpidity, while it quickened the familiar sententious, stately march of his prose. The diction was nervous, sinewy, with a glow and fervor that was a welcome improvement upon the severity of some of his other books. It was

a notable contrast to the expanded tracts which often serve as biographies of good and great men. The biographer proved himself tactful, but not cowardly, discreet, but not secretive. It was, in all respects, a model biography.

II

An authentic biography of Pope Leo XIII by the Right Rev. Barnard O'Reilly was revised and made to cover the last year of the venerable pontiff's life; it presented together with the life of the Pope, the most important developments in the ecclesiastical and political history of the last quarter of a century. The author was known as one of the most scholarly writers in the Catholic Church, as the biographer of Pope Leo's predecessor, Pius IX, as well as of other standard works of like character. His entire work was based upon manuscripts in the Vatican library, and his personal knowledge of Leo, gained through an acquaintance of a long period of years.

Three biographies of especial interest to Americans were William Eleroy Curtis's "True Abraham Lincoln" (Lippincott), Thomas E. Watson's "The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson" (Appleton), and Senator Hoar's "Autobiography of Seventy Years" (Scribner). General John D. Gordon's "Reminiscences of the Civil War" (Scribner) was both biographical and historical. His main purpose was to record his personal reminiscences, but his higher aim was to point out "where justification of one section does not require or imply condemnation of the other—the broad, high, sunlit, middle ground where fact meets fact, argument confronts argument, and truth is balanced against truth."

III

One notable feature of the biographies of 1902 was that the "lives" of men of letters far outnumbered those of any other class. In 1903 the case was reversed, the only notable literary biographies being: "The Life and Letters of Edgar Allen Poe" (Crowell); "More Letters of Charles Darwin" (Appleton), and "Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Max Müller" (Longmans); Richard Henry Stoddard's "Recollections Personal and Literary" (Barnes); J. T. Trowbridge's "My Own Story" (Houghton, Mifflin); "Hawthorne and His Circle," by Julian Hawthorne (Harper); William A. Linn's "Horace Greeley" (Appleton), and "Memoirs of M. de Blowitz"

(Doubleday). Mr. Harrison's life of Poe was generally regarded as the best, the final work upon this American genius. It is difficult to even suggest the inspiration in reading the letters of Max Müller. The three lives which every honest and great man lives — "the life which is viewed by the public eye; the life which is known only to a man's most intimate friends; and the third life, seen only by the man himself, and by Him who made him — a life of aspiration rather than of fulfillment," were all successfully portrayed. Perhaps no other man has left behind him a greater volume of scholarly work. The total list of Max Müller's works is fifty-four. No other scholar has received as many honorary titles and honors as were conferred upon Professor Müller; their number being fifty-eight.

IV

John LaFarge's "Great Masters" (McClure) was quite as noteworthy in its biographical sketches as in its art criticism. Michelangelo, Raphael, Rembrandt, Rubens, Velasquez, Durer, and Hokusai were Mr. LaFarge's subjects, and on the life, the personality, and the work of each artist he threw a new and stronger light, a light emanating partly from broader and later scholarship and partly from facts recently made known. "Rome and the Renaissance: The Pontificate of Julius II" (Putnam) gave a new aspect to this wonderful period, treating it as an entity comprehended by the pontificate of Julius II, and largely due to the intelligent encouragement which this wonderful old man gave to the labors of Michelangelo in the Sistine chapel, to Raphael, to Bramante, and to other artists who were deemed worthy to share in the work which remains to this day the greatest example of artistic endeavor, the highest manifestation of artistic inspiration. Along with his interpretation and analysis of this work the author carries a history, religious and profane, of the pontificate of Julius.

The aim of "The Life-work of George Frederick Watts," by Hugh Macmillan (Dutton), was to give a literary interpretation of what Watts, with farther seeing eyes than ours, has seen in nature, in poetry, in myth, and in human character. The expositions found in these pages of his most characteristic pictures were the result of reverential study of them by one who has derived from them both intellectual insight and elevation of soul; and who has not depended

altogether upon his own impressions, but has corrected them by comparisons with the impressions of others. Nor was the personal side of his subject neglected by Dr. Macmillan. In himself as in his own work this aged oak, almost the last survivor of the men of genius of the Victorian age, was shown to merit the veneration and love he received from the artistic and literary circle which had for so long a space of time drawn inspiration from him — a man, in short, who had lived up to his motto, "The utmost for the highest."

III

Four of the greatest women in history had their lives rewritten during the year: Lucretia Borgia, by Ferdinand Gregorovius (Appleton), "Jeanne D'Arc" by T. Douglas Murray (McClure), "Mlle. de Montpensier" by Arvede Barine (Putnam), and "Beatrice D'Este" by Julia Cartright (Dutton). The first named was an attempt to whitewash a black character in history and romance. If it were possible to rehabilitate this unfortunate woman this work would have accomplished the feat, for the author quite convinced his reader that Lucretia was somewhat better, and certainly no worse than the other highborn ladies of her time; that she was not guilty of the unnatural crimes of which she has been accused; that as Duchess of Ferrara her conduct was altogether exemplary, and that her faults were rather less serious than might have been expected of the offspring of the fiend who begot her, and of the unspeakable environment of her youth.

Historical Works

In no region ruled by the expert, save that of the physical sciences, has specialization been carried so far as in modern history, and in no work is it conducted on quite so large a scale as in "The Cambridge Modern History," the seventh volume of which appeared in 1903. This volume is devoted wholly to the United States, and all the periods and topics in the story of our national development are treated on the monographic plan by distinguished students. The advantages of this plan from the scholastic point of view seemed to outweigh the disadvantages. "The American Revolution," by Sir George Otto Trevelyan (Longmans), was not so much a conventional history of the war as an attempt to mirror the times and show what the

people of the colonies and of England were doing and thinking during that period. Professor Guy Carleton Lee's "True History of the Civil War" (Lippincott), William Garrett Brown's "History of the United States Since the Civil War" (Macmillan), were two of the most important records of special periods in our history. An important group of books dealt with American institutions: James Albert Woodburn's "Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States" (Putnam), Albert Bushnell Hart's "Actual Government" (Longmans), Edward Stanwood's "American Tariff Controversies" (Houghton, Mifflin), William Henry Smith's "Political History of Slavery" (Putnam). "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" (Clark), is a work which the word monumental but feebly describes, since we have here the original documents giving accounts of the earliest explorations of the archipelago, descriptions of the islands and their peoples, their history and the records of the Catholic missions, as related in contemporary books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of the islands from the earliest times up to the war with Spain by which we became possessed of them. Volume VI of the fifty-five which will comprise the work was issued. It covered the years 1583-1588.

Contemporary history, written as it was made, included "The Turk and His Lost Provinces," by William Eleroy Curtis; "The Great Boer War," by Conan Doyle; "The Land of the Boxers," by Captain Gordon Casserley; and a handbook of "Modern Japan," by Ernest W. Clement.

"Modern Germany" was the subject of several important works. "Germany, the Welding of a World Power," by Wolf von Shierbrand (Harper), gave a fresh and trustworthy story of the development of Germany under the reign of William II. Poultney Bigelow's "History of the German Struggle for Liberty" (Harper) was brought down to 1848, from which point the story was taken up by W. H. Dahlinger in a volume on "The German Revolution of 1848" (Putnam). "Personal Reminiscences of Prince Bismarck," by Sidney Whitman (Appleton), and the "Correspondence of William I and Bismarck" (Stokes), contained valuable material for the historian of the period during which Bismarck dominated the affairs not only of Germany, but of Europe at large. "The Journals of Field Marshal,

Count von Blumenthal" (Longmans) contained recollections of the seven weeks' war with Bavaria, in which the author played an important part.

In Bohemia the Huss celebration led to a publication of all the works of the martyr, many of them from manuscripts only recently discovered. The most prominent event in the Bohemian literary world was the formation of an independent publishing society called Maj, the object of which was to improve the material situation of literary men and women and to promote the interests of authors. The society during its first year helped to raise the price of literary work, to insure a greater share in the profits of books for the writers of them, and to protect rights in literary property. The history of Bohemian literature in the Nineteenth Century, a joint work by several writers, was fathered by this society.

France continued to make great advance in the department of history, French historians gaining greater mastery over method and finding an increasing popularity for their works among the cultured. The noteworthy historical works of the year were Gabriel Hanotaux's "History of Contemporary France," Paul Gautier's "Madam de Stael and Napoleon," Albert Vandal's "Bonaparte," Vicomte de Noailles's "French Soldiers in the American Revolution." Two monumental historical works were undertaken in Hungary, "A Great Illustrated Universal History," by Professor Marczali, and "A History of the World's Literature," by a number of specialists directed by Professor Heinrich. A "History of Moscow," by Tabielin was Russia's most important historical work.

The Vast Output of Fiction

While the first bewildering glance at the vast output of fiction for 1903 failed to disclose any remarkable achievements, patient comparative study brought to light a number of novels distinctly worth while, and a higher general grade of workmanship than that of several preceding seasons. It was encouraging to note that the most widely read novels of the year were not mere ephemeral successes, hysterical-historical novels, log-rolled into recognition. With few exceptions they represented the production of those writers who had, so to speak, found themselves: those who, centered and poised in their

separate spheres, depended alone upon the worth of their work for their laurels.

While various other conventions governing the novelist now seemed puerile enough very few writers skipped the love scene, though there were unmistakable signs that the love interest was somewhat subordinate. Here and there a novelist dared to write of what he saw and produce a book whose every incident did not relate to the artificial romance of he and she. It was a bad day for the classic heroine when George Eliot began writing about women as they really were instead of about lay figures dressed up in traditional robes for various parts. It is both easier and pleasanter thus to explain the apparent deterioration of the heroine than to believe that the maidens of to-day have fallen below the maidens who inspired the beautiful Rowenas, the blushing Sophias, and the constant Amelias. A few stories of the year emphasized the fact that stress and strain are required to sound the deeps of human nature, and that there is neither stress nor strain in sweetly optimistic and placidly happy events. The great stories in the world's literary treasure house seem to depend upon the tragic and terrible for their strength and greatness. The editors of magazines, however, stated very good commercial grounds for refusing admission to the unpleasant, the morbid, and the depressing.

English and American Novels

In American fiction Frank Norris's "posthumous" novel, "The Pit" (Doubleday), seemed to present the strongest claim to the title of the novel of the year. The writer's power of comprehending and depicting large movements reached its highest attainment in relating an episode that involved the daily bread of more than one nation. With unrestrained energy and fine poetic feeling he pictured Curtis Jadwin's fierce and relentless struggle to corner the world's supply of wheat, his intoxicating successes, and the final tremendous crash of failure when the wheat had broken from the control of his titanic will. The mingling of the trivial with the tragic in human affairs, and the interweaving of man's varied interests relieved the tension of the high strung life of the pit and gave the needed touch of completeness to Mr. Norris's last and greatest work.

Three notable novels by Southern writers formed a feature of the

year's production. "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come" (Scribner), by John Fox, Jr., besides being a charming story of a highly endowed hero, lovable in spite of all his perfections, contained some valuable social data. The civil war was shown to be the most potent force in overturning the old order of society and setting in operation other forces whose activity has not yet ceased. In "Gordon Keith" (Scribner), Thomas Nelson Page related the experiences of a son of the new South, and various incidents attendant upon the development of Southern coal fields and the exploitation of Southern railways. James Lane Allen's novel, "The Metal of the Pasture" (Macmillan), was Southern only in its setting. It propounded the universal problem of human error and tragic expiation. Its purpose was to show that the great personal tragedy of the world is failing to be true to one's self. It was the most powerful presentation of love and suffering pictured in any novel of the year.

Novelists of long established reputation, like Henry James, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and William Dean Howells, naturally added something of genuine value to the year's work. Mr. James gave us one of the best efforts of his later period in "The Ambassadors" (Harper), a study, thoughtful, scrutinizing, but withal irresistibly humorous, of the effects of European, or more strictly, French life, upon different types of the American temperament. Mrs. Ward's novel was one of reincarnation, having told the story of "Mlle. de Lespinasse," in "Lady Rose's Daughter" (Harper), the French woman living again in Julie Breton, the illegitimate daughter of an English noblewoman. Mr. Howells adopted the prevailing fad for writing novels in epistolary form, the letter writers who chronicled the love affair in "Letters Home" (Harper) merely taking the places of Mr. and Mrs. Marsh and certain others of Mr. Howells's creation, whose observations are usually more interesting than the story itself. Five stories of recognized merit were Edith Wharton's "Sanctuary" (Scribner), Thomas Sherburn Hardy's "His Daughter First" (Houghton, Mifflin), Catherine Cecil Thurston's "The Circle" (Dodd, Mead), Conan Doyle's "Adventures of Gerard" (McClure), and Richard Whiting's purpose novel, "The Yellow Van" (Century.)

Pure romance and the old fashioned love story seem to occupy a smaller relative space with each advancing year. The growing tend-

ency to subordinate the love interest in novels, or at any rate to give it no larger place in fiction than it holds in life, does not, however, satisfy a class of readers who go on demanding the romance in which love makes the world go round. Of the new stories published under this head those that found greatest favor with the public were Mr. Booth Tarkington's "Cherry" (Harper), a gay little comedy of old New York; Mollie Elliott Sewell's "Fortunes of Fi Fi" (Bobbs, Merrill), a tale of a third rate actress at a fourth rate theatre during the first empire of France; Agnes and Egerton Castle's sprightly romance, "The Incomparable Bellairs" (Stokes); Onoto Watanna's Japanese tale, "The Heart of Hyacinth" (Harper), and "Girillo" (Life), a Florentine romance by a new writer, Effie Douglass Putnam, and the most notable "first book" of the year.

Stories of present day American life took precedence, in quality at least, over the revolutionary or colonial romance, and by far the largest quota of these came from out West: the works of George Barr McCutcheon, Hamlin Garland, Elia W. Peattie and others. Among the historical romances were many imitations of previous successes, but no work of originality. Social and political affairs were the themes chosen by a group of writers conspicuously more numerous this year than ever before. Society in all its aspects — high life and low life, smart set and slums, Belgravia and Bohemia — were subjects for satire or burlesque, or sympathetic study, according to the temperament and talent of the writer. Thomas Dixon lifted his voice — and it was the loud sonorous voice of a preacher, accustomed to brandishing eloquence as a weapon — and his melodramatic story of "The One Woman" (Doubleday) enjoyed the distinction of being the sensation of the year. Other voices were lifted for the sake of propagating doctrines that Mr. Dixon decried; yet, with the possible exception of Mr. Moore's "The Untilled Field" (Lippincott's) they scarcely made themselves heard. Ward politics and graft were the subjects treated in "The Spoilsman," by Elliott Flower (Page), and "The Boss," by Alfred Henry Lewis (Barnes).

The problem novel still wrestling with the old Adam in human nature, still searching for solutions to life's enigmas, found exponents in "Gwendolyn Overton" whose novel "Ann Carmel" (Macmillan) propounded the question "Are there ever circumstances under

which it is right for a woman to live her own life in defiance of gossip and moral law?" Anna McClure Sholl set forth the difficulties of a marriage between incompatibles in "The Law of Life," (Appleton) and Alice Brown wrestled with the conflict of justice and mercy in her story "Judgment" (Harper). Each of these three novels was characterized by earnestness, dignity and a strong grasp of a vital situation. Gloomy and morbid themes for speculation confronted the reader in a score of other problem novels.

The short stories contained some of the best literary values in the year's fiction. Joseph Conrad illustrated the workings of the inexorable laws of life in two collections "Youth" and "Falk" (McClure), depicting the hard lot of men and women who are the blind playthings of chance, whirled to their destinies helpless and unresisting. Margaret Deland proved herself quite as strong a realist in "Dr. Lavendar's People" (Harper). The humor and pathos in every village comedy or tragedy, the sentiment and suffering in cramped, inarticulate life were painted with a touch so unerring as to win for the author the tribute paid by an Athenian critic to an earlier realist, "Oh, Life! Oh, Meander! Which of you two is the plagiarist?"

Sentiment, philosophy, humor and unique personality were happily combined in four of the season's popular books: "Pa Gladden" (Century), by Elizabeth Cherry Waltz; "Lovey Mary" (Century), by Alice Caldwell Hegan; "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm" (Houghton, Mifflin), by Kate Douglas Wiggin, and "When Patty Went to College" (Century), by Jean Webster. Humor, clean, naïve and delicate, pervaded a collection of stories by Chester Bailey Fernald, while more rollicking and boisterous fun were found in new books by Charles Battell Loomis, George Ade, and Henry Lewis. Sea yarns, tales of adventure, mystery and crime were numerous. "The Call of the Wild" seemed to have driven other writers than Jack London into the virgin forests of fiction, where the nature element is paramount, and man plays a less heroic part than his four footed friends.

Continental Fiction

A review of German fiction, while it revealed no work of unusual brilliance, brought to light a number of stories impressive by

reason of their elemental truthfulness. The best depicter of aristocratic life remained the Baroness Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach; of military life, George von Ompteda; of peasant life, Peter Rosegger; of artistic life, Paul Heyse; of middle class life, Theodore Fontane. Heyse's new work, a volume of short stories, indicated a certain decline in power of composition, but still of undeniable strength. Frau von Ebner-Eschenbach, on the other hand, although well past seventy, retained all the vigor of youth in her new novel "Agave." Other German novels of the year were not particularly notable.

In his report upon French literature for the year M. Pravieux noted that novelists who become more and more numerous in France may be arranged under two heads; those who remain faithful to the traditional conception of the novel and confine their studies to one subject only—love; and those who, without altogether refraining from the portrayal of love write treatises disguised as novels on philosophical, social and religious questions. New works of the didactic category were written by Paul Bourget, Marcel Prevost, Edouard Rod and Paul and Victor Margueritte. In the other category were found new works by Henry Bordeaux, Leo Claretie, Marie de Regnier, and the Countess de Noailles. Mme. de Regnier's "L'Inconstante" was the most talked of novel of the year.

A noticeable point in Danish literature was the great increase in quantity. The novels of the year increased to 180, a jump of fifty per cent from the year before. Dr. Alfred Ipsen in a critical review of the literature of Denmark stated that the quality of Danish fiction was growing worse. "It is a ruminating sort of literature, the second generation of naturalism seems no longer able to produce vital art, but it has developed a rage for writing and a technical dexterity in the use of the pen which are astonishing." One of the chief works of the year was "The King of all Sinners" by Laurids Bruun. The number of women writers in Denmark is constantly increasing, and as Dr. Ipsen put it "Every year they produce new heavy books." At the head of this feminist school stands Mrs. Agnes Henningsen, whose "Spedalske," a morbid novel, was one of the sensations of the year.

In Russia Maxim Gorki and L. Andréev continued to attract

the most attention. Each of their new productions, "In the Depths," by the former, and "In the Mist," by the latter, evoked long and noisy discussions, both from the press and in society. The number of copies of their books sold exceeded any sales previously known in Russia. In Hungary fiction seemed to be at a low ebb. Scarcely any really first-rate productions were noticed by its critics. Jokai, the oldest Hungarian of letters, brought out an interesting novel on the subject of the Polish Jews, and a new man Lajos Beck, made something of a stir with a political novel called "Ideals."

The literary year in Holland was pronounced prolific. A Dutch critic wrote "Such healthy and vigorous books have not appeared for a long time." The strength of the Dutch genius, illustrated in its art and literature alike, continued to lie in its appreciation of the beauty of small and commonplace things. This was the characteristic of successful new works in fiction by the novelists, Van Looy, Streuvels, and Coenen.

Poetry

One of America's foremost poets commenting on the verse of the year, declared that there probably never was a time when poetry was held in less esteem than at the present. With all our comforts, with all our delightful luxuries, all our intellectual alertness we are, he claimed steadily losing our moral ideas, steadily suffering spiritual deterioration. Among contemporary poets, there are but two of marked popularity and preëminent achievement whose position entitled them to be more or less typical in modern life. Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Mr. James Whitcomb Riley are perhaps the only English speaking poets of the day who can command a respectful hearing, and our ideal modern poet should have Mr. Kipling's capacity for perceiving romance in the midst of the seemingly commonplace, and Mr. Riley's untarnished spirit of kindness toward this great, foolish, distracted world. He would be tolerant and intensely human as they are; he would love his age as they do, but, at the same time, if such a thing were not impossible, he would be horrified at the consuming greed which is the ruling passion in modern life, and he would be unconquerably possessed by a doubt of justice and goodness nowhere paramount in the poetry of to-day.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling always arouses interest, if he does not excite admiration, as was proved by the attention given by reviewers to his volume "The Five Nations." The most illuminating characterization was that of Mr. William Archer who found in Mr. Kipling's new verse "something of the manner of the drum major, the intensity of vision and expression, hyperbolic, grandiose imagery, tumultuousness of metrical movement. These are the unvarying and overworked qualities of his style." Mr. G. K. Chesterton complained that Mr. Kipling was lacking in patriotism: "He writes what he really is, an Oriental. He apologizes to a white nation for taking away its nationality, as one might apologize to a man for spoiling his silk hat. He does not understand the western idea of nationality at all. Compared with the new edition of William Watson's poems, Mr. Kipling's strident productions scarcely seem poetry at all." Bliss Carmon's "Pipes of Pan" contained the only note of our American poets deserving of mention.

In France, where poetry seems to flourish in schools, a period of transition was noted. The academy-crowned verse violated most of the traditional rules, as in the case of volumes by Fernand Gregh and the Countess de Noailles. The quarrel of the year was between the Parnassians and the symbolists, the chief representative of the latter being Henri Regnier. In Russia the supporters of a new school of poetry, the modernists, undertook a regular campaign in Moscow for the diffusion of their ideas. They advocated them in public lectures and readings, and in public meetings by the Moscow Literary and Artistic Circle, which attracted such a number of hearers that frequently the club rooms could not contain them. "Northern Flowers" was the title given to an annual volume containing the year's output of the modernists.

The great Italian writers of verse Carducci, Fogazzaro, De Amicis, and Giosuè Carducci produced no new verse during the year. D'Annunzio, however, produced the first volume of a new trilogy, and a volume of poetry entitled "Laus Vitae" for certain verses of which an expiatory service was held in one of the churches of Rome. Signor Pascali published a volume of psalms pronounced perfect in form by discriminating critics.

No remarkable poetic achievement was credited to Germany,

though it is significant that one German poet, Rudolph Gottschall was pensioned, having been endowed with an annuity of twelve hundred marks by the city of Leipsig. At the beginning of the year, the lyrical poets of Germany, to the number of seventy, having compared notes on the remuneration they received for their writings, concluded that they had been insufficiently paid and resolved to take common action. They formed a sort of trust and made an agreement not to accept less than half a mark (12 cents) a line for the children of their brains.

The news was received on this side of the Atlantic with ironical joy. The *Baltimore News* exclaimed: "Long live union poets and union musicians! There'll be no more Chattertons swallowing arsenic in garrets, no more Poes made reckless by thoughts of underfed wives. Every poet hereafter may hope to have a house with a bath room, every musician may expect to see shoes on his children and to have meat for dinner once a week." Notwithstanding the ridicule of the press, the so-called "lyrical union" compelled the German publishers to take it with sufficient seriousness to yield to its demands.

Emerson's Centenary

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ralph Waldo Emerson celebrated on May 25 served as an occasion for emphasizing anew Emerson's influence on the literature and life of his country. It was brought out in many of the centennial eulogies that more distinctly than any other man who had appeared among us Emerson affirmed the presence of the divine in every human being. The direct and personal relation between each man and the Infinite; the authority of individual insight, the dignity of the individual soul. It was Emerson who first gave us leave to worship ourselves. His influence was traced more especially over three classes of men. The first composed of men of genius like Lowell; the second of the eager followers of the modern seers; the third of men of catholic temper who learn from the wise and good of all ages. Our inheritance in Emerson was generally declared to be, not so much an inheritance of literature as of a life, of a nature well nigh unique among the world authors, a public and private life at one in purity and sentiment, with no pettiness to deplore and no derelictions to explain or forget.

Renaissance of Japanese Literature

Press despatches from Japan contained a brief announcement that the Government had decided to promote the adoption of the Roman letter as used in the books and newspapers of this country and of western Europe. This reform meant a complete change in the handwriting, in the type of newspapers, magazines and books of more than 40,000,000 of people. It meant the sweeping away of a cumbersome and difficult system of writing, and it also meant letting out upon the outside world through gates long shut and barred Japan's beautiful literature. The reform was not of recent origin, since for many years the society called "The Roman Letter Society" had labored to substitute the simplicity of the Roman character for Japan's unwieldy hieroglyphics. The adoption of a new system naturally tended to cause great changes in the Japanese language, the first being the abandonment of the ancient idiom known as the classic, literary or book language affected by the scholars and not understood by the people. The reform further involved a movement towards simplification, grammatical forms being greatly reduced in number and an alphabet displacing the syllabaries. In making this change, the Japanese advanced beyond the Germans, who still cling to their medieval grammatical shackles. The reform further enabled the foreigner to read and speak the Japanese language with ease, and to enjoy in Japanese literature a portion of the treasure of the educated world. As the Renaissance gave life and voice to Greek art, so the knowledge of the Japanese language promised to create for us the delicate, almost evanescent art of Japan.

The Goncourt Academy

After six years of waiting, six years of processes and judgments the Paris "Society Litteraire Goncourt" was officially recognized by the council of State and authorized to accept the legacy of 65,000 francs a year left by Edouard de Goncourt. In his will, the founder fixed the number of academicians at ten, but he named only eight, Alphonse Daudet, who died a short time after his great friend; Leon Hennique; Karl Huysmans, Octave Mirabeau, the Rosny brothers, Paul Margueritte and Gustav Geoffroy. The academy was completed when the original members elected Elemir Bourges and

Lucien Descaves, and at the death of Daudet his son Leon. At present it has its full membership. According to the terms of the will, no politician, public officer or poet shall be a member of the academy. Each of the ten members is to receive Fr. 6,000 a year in order that he may live as becomes the dignity of a man of letters, and it was also provided that an annual prize of Fr. 5,000 should be given the author of the best imaginative romance or novel.

Real and Sham Natural History

Nature books, more especially studies of animal life, multiplied so rapidly in numbers and grew so in popular favor that in the year 1903 they led to a celebrated controversy which brought out much of the good and bad in this particular kind of writing. Mr. John Burroughs, the dean of the school of nature writers, in an article on real and sham natural history attacked the methods of certain writers, more especially that of Mr. William J. Long, author of "The School of the Woods," who, during 1903, published two new volumes "Following the Deer" and "A Little Brother to the Bear." (Ginn & Co.) The gist of Mr. Burroughs attack was that Mr. Long's books read like that of the man who had never really been to the woods, but who sat in his study and cooked up his yarns from things he had read in sporting journals. "Deliberate trifling with natural history," was the charge Mr. Burroughs preferred against Mr. Long.

While Mr. Burroughs roughly denied Mr. Long's observations, called them inventions, and condemned Mr. Long for perpetrating a fraud on an innocent public, nevertheless, Mr. Long succeeded in establishing himself as a quiet and patient observer of animals in their native wilds. For over twenty years he had spent part of each season in the woods. Sometimes he had lived in the wilderness alone for months at a time, and had frequently followed animals with Indian hunters whose whole lives had been studies of the natural and the animal worlds. The nature and animal sketches of Mr. Long proved their title to a worthy part in a welcome and significant movement in modern literature. As to Mr. Burroughs's denial of the "school of the woods" idea—that there is such a thing as a mother animal teaching her young, Mr. Long's advice was "not to accept any theory, but simply to open your eyes and see what



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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW



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MAXIM GORKI



goes on with wild mother-birds and animals as they lead their young out into the world. Mr. Burroughs gives the lie to the kingfisher that put minnows into a shallow pool for her young to catch and to the fishhawk that wounded a fish in order that her young might learn how to strike it. Dr. Philip Cox, the best ichthyologist in Canada, found a new species of fish that the fishhawks had stored in a pool in just this way; and Mr. Mauran Furbish, who probably knows more of the New Brunswick wilderness than any other man, has told me since my book was written that he had seen the same thing. Moreover, the wild mother-shelducks to be seen on every wilderness lake often use this method to teach their little ones how to catch trout."

PLAYS OF THE YEAR

English Drama

In the production of dramatic literature the year records nothing of unusual merit. It included, however, new plays by Bernard Shaw and J. M. Barrie, an unsuccessful play by Sudermann, a triumph for a new Italian dramatist, and more or less mediocre productions by well-known European and American dramatists. Beginning with the English drama, Mr. Shaw's "Man and Superman" first claims our attention. The themes of this play are many and various. The tragi-comedy of advancement which is no longer advanced, the natural repugnance founded on blood relationship, the unhappy folly of romance. The main theme is the determination of the hero never, never to allow the heroine to marry him, and his final collapse under the stress of the life force that makes the bees toil for the hive.

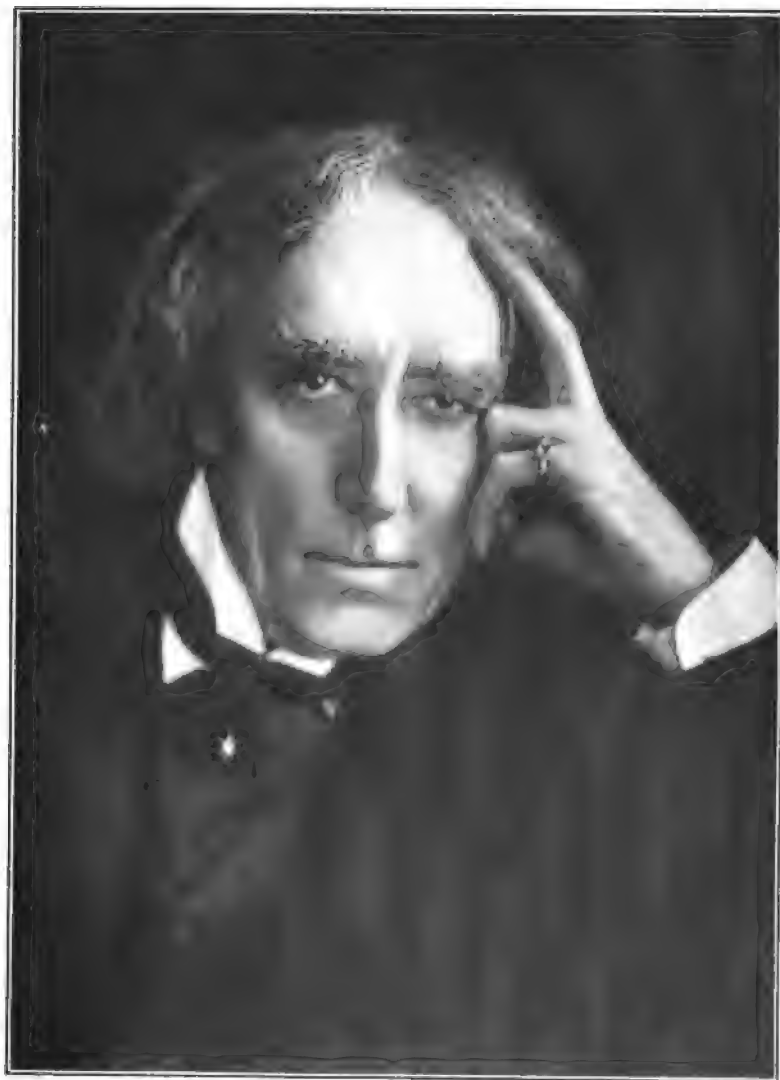
In the preface to this play addressed to Arthur Bingham Walkley, the brilliant English dramatic critic, Mr. Shaw defined the situation of his new drama, which was already defined for him by Henry James, in this manner: "It was much more the women who are after the men than the men who are after the women." He tried to show that in the human order the man is the cynosure of the woman, and that her whole education and existence is an effort to win and to wear him. "Man and Superman" presents as its leading character the new woman according to the gospel of Shaw; pert,

vulgar, uncivilized, ignorant of everyday feminine delicacies, and a mighty huntress of man. Her bold pursuit of a revolutionary socialist is the story of the play. Regarded as a play "Man and Superman" was pronounced primitive in invention and second rate in execution. It was not given a stage performance during the year, though it was widely read and criticised. Shaw, however, came into wide recognition as a dramatist during the year through the New York performance of his play "Candida," produced by Arnold Daly so successfully that the name of Bernard Shaw acquired an interest in America where up to that time it had not been known.

Mr. Barrie's "Little Mary" proved a capital piece of intelligent fooling, brightened with many witty lines, and a few farcical situations. The point of the play was the theory that the English people are ruining themselves by overeating, and that the cure for all their ills, both mental and physical, is the practice of temperance prescribed by Miss Moria Loney, the little Irish nurse. The absurdity of the whole conception became apparent when the fact was disclosed that the name "Little Mary" was a euphemism for the everyday human stomach by whose aid Miss Loney practiced the healing art. The thing was really a huge joke from beginning to end, though subject to wide misunderstanding. One critic aptly dubbed it "Sentimental Tummy."

Mr. A. W. Pinero's "Letty" was the first play that he had produced since the much discussed "Iris." The new play differed from the old one in that Iris sacrificed reputation for pleasure, while Letty gave up pleasure to save her reputation. The play was one of vigor and boldness but withal a repulsive picture of modern social conditions.

Few plays produced in London were more talked about than Mr. Lawrence Housman's "Bethlehem," a nativity play written in imitation of the simplicity of the old miracle play. The dramatist writing in defense of his production said: "I wish to show that it is possible for the drama to come near, without irreverence, to the central truths of Christianity, and by symbolic action to quicken the imagination of the beholders so as to make the beauty of holiness more evident to them than it was before." The most serious crit-



SIR HENRY IRVING

icism passed upon his effort was that he had failed in his purpose, and had produced an affected, artificial, and self-conscious travesty on the old miracle play organized by, and sanctioned by the church. In the modern imitation, nothing seemed quite genuine from the attitude of the author to the interest of the audience. The work of Edward Gordon Craig in staging the play was highly praised, and did much toward creating the illusion of a religious atmosphere.

Two poetical dramas were published: "Where there is Nothing," by the Irish dramatist, Mr. W. B. Yeats; and "The Flodden Field," by Mr. Alfred Austin. In the first Mr. Yeats ranked himself among the reformers, using the methods of Ibsen. It was a drama of revolution, pointing to the road of rebellion. The second was scarcely considered seriously as a piece of dramatic art, but was regarded by almost all critics as an inept, ineffective expansion into melodrama of a fragment of British history.

The announcement that the French playwright Sardou had written a play for Sir Henry Irving with Dante for the chief figure, stirred to the depths the literary circles of Italy, France and England, both before and after its performance at the London Drury Lane Theatre in May. It proved, however, a greater triumph for the actor than for the playwright. The chief criticisms of Mr. Sardou's work, were in line with those voiced by the Italian critics who claimed that the sacred, and almost legendary figure of Dante, was desecrated by the French dramatist. The Drury Lane spectacle proved disappointing, and almost revolting to a certain group who styled themselves "Dantists." When asked to swallow the story of an adulterous amour between Dante and Pia dei Tolonei, they retorted that Dante had not even a bowing acquaintance with this lady; that the house of Mallatesta was not situated in France; that Cardinal Caloni did not reside in Avignon; and that several circles in the inferno and purgatory scenes were sadly mixed up. The dramatic critic of the London *Times* remarked that "the Dantists would doubtless invent an additional circle in hell for the benefit of Sardou and Moreau, who have laid sacrilegious hands upon one of the greatest poems in the world's literature." Sir Henry Irving, all critics agreed, seemed made for Dante. His impersonation was

that of an austere, priestly figure, adding to the saintliness of the character the abstracted face of a man who has been through purgatory. The play offered great scope for scenic and mechanical effects. In certain places the story of the piece approached the melodramatic, but this was scarcely unavoidable, considering the issues involved.

New French Plays

Dramatic interest in Paris centered in five new plays, "The Sorceress," written for Madame Bernhardt by Sardou; "The Labyrinth," by Paul Hervieu; "The Return of Jerusalem" by Maurice Donnay; "Maternity," by M. Brieux; "Business is Business," by Octave Mirveau. Sardou's play had for its theme the Spanish inquisition at Toledo in the Middle Ages, the plot revolving about the love of a Spanish officer for a Moorish girl, and the trial and condemnation of the latter for witchcraft. As produced by Madame Bernhardt in her own theatre, the play received ample attention in the matter of costumes and scenery, and scored a certain measure of triumph for both author and actress.

M. Hervieu in "The Labyrinth" made a study of divorce and its consequent complications. The heroine, a divorcee, on her remarriage, immediately begins to repent her abandonment of her former husband and infant son. Her hesitation between the two husbands is brought to an end by the tragic death of both the men. The play was full of subtle suggestions of feminine psychology. At the beginning of the year Madame Bernhardt produced another of M. Hervieu's plays, "Theroigne de Maricourt," an historical drama of the French Revolution, in which Madame Bernhardt essayed the role of the leader of the women's mob in the march from Paris to Versailles in 1789. The actress proved in every way equal to the great task of typifying the patriotic spirit of the revolution. The historical drama, however, failed to meet with as great enthusiasm at the hands of the critics as did the realistic drama of divorce.

Another social problem was presented in "Maternity," by M. Brieux. The question involved was whether a woman had the right to refuse to become a mother, and in what way she might avail herself of this right. A French Senator had declared that it



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was necessary to re-people France, and in this play the dramatist replied that it is impossible for those who have not the power of rearing their children rightly to re-people a country. The play was not considered a success, either in a dramatic or a social sense.

M. Donnay's play was popularly regarded as the dramatic expression of anti-Semitism, and it aroused great political enthusiasm. The play concluded with a patriotic and anti-Jewish tirade. Most of the critics agreed that the drama was one of unusual brilliancy, though the racial element had been unduly emphasized.

The Maeterlinck theater, established in Paris in 1903 at the Gymnase Theater, was the Belgian dramatist's crowning triumph. Here his latest work, "Joyzelle," was presented and enjoyed a long run. It was a love idyl in five short acts, confined to four characters. Mr. James Huneker, who witnessed a performance of it that year, placed it midway between Maeterlinck's earlier manner and "Monna Vanna," finding more action in it than in any other of his plays except "Monna Vanna," also passion and climax that came perilously nearer theatricalism than anything Maeterlinck had yet written. "Joyzelle," wrote Mr. Huneker, "is little more than a series of situations, in which the heroine is tempted and tested by the stern old enchanter Merlin. When I called upon the poet at his picturesque little house in Passy, I asked him about 'The Tempest,' which the critics one and all saw in his play. He smiled and replied that Shakespeare was a good point of departure. Could there be a better one? The resemblance is really rather superficial." "Joyzelle," like "Monna Vanna," was written for and enacted by the dramatist's wife, known in stageland as Georgette Leblanc.

German Plays

The first place in new dramatic literature in Germany was given by the majority of critics to Gerhart Hauptmann's mystical drama "Der Arme Heinrich" portraying an unfortunate man smitten by leprosy who sets out to seek a physician at Salerno, accompanied by the maiden who is ready to sacrifice her heart's blood for his sake, and through whose unquestioning faith he is eventually cured. The play was not Hauptmann at his happiest, despite rare flashes of beauty and power in this reproduction of a medieval miracle

play. The theme was as old as the flying Dutchman, the rescue of a man by the unselfish love of a woman, only set forth in different terms, and framed by another environment. The drama was first produced in Vienna at the close of 1902.

"Rose Brend," another Hauptmann drama, was produced at the Deutsches Theater, Berlin, October 31, 1903. It was a five-act drama of the open fields and rough peasant life, written in difficult Silesian dialect, about a sordid, unpleasant theme. The play was denounced as immoral in certain quarters and in Austria was forbidden the boards by the Emperor. On the other hand, a number of critics pronounced it the most deeply human of all Hauptmann's works, too truthful and too probing for popular taste. It portrayed another Tess of the D'Urbervilles. Rose, a worker in the harvest fields, is betrayed by the mayor of the district, and a dissipated churl, who has spied out her secret by threatening to expose her to her father and her betrothed, captures her for himself. Later in a drunken rage he summons the peasants and tells them of Rose's sin. She confesses in a delirium that she has strangled her new-born babe. Her father orders her arrest, but her faithful betrothed forgives her, crying as the curtain falls, "What the girl must have suffered!"

Sudermann's new drama "Der Sturmgesele Socrates," produced simultaneously in Berlin and Vienna in November, was whistled down in both centers of German dramatic art. The complaint was lack of action. According to the critics, the play in its attempt to kindle a great smoke with a little fire reminded one of Don Quixote. The hero, a humble dentist in an obscure Prussian town possessed a Quixotic soul, though utterly lacking in the delightful naïveté of the Spanish knight errant. The author seemed to demand that his hero be taken seriously, as a tragic creature; this man who was ready to sacrifice his son to his convictions and ended by sacrificing conviction to personal vanity. The audience in doubt whether to receive the play as a tragedy, a comedy or a satire, ended by denouncing it. The critics recognized many masterly portraits in the schoolmaster, the Jewish Rabbi, the tax collector, the dentist and other provincial characters.

Paul Heyse, the German Sardou, produced a new drama, his

eighty-first we believe, in "Der Heilige" which met with great success on its presentation in Hamburg. The play balanced Christian asceticism against pagan sensuality. The time was that of the early Christians. The hero was a hermit living in a cave near Nicaea, who in order not to succumb to the love offered him by the Prefect's wife kills his temptress in her bath and slays himself on her funeral pyre. The great historical drama of the year was "Konig Laurin," by Herr von Wildendruck, presenting a story of the Goths after the death of Theodoric.

Italian Drama

A young Italian writer, Enrico Corradini, achieved a great triumph in his play of Julius Cæsar, a work imbued with the spirit of classic Roman times. Scorning all concessions to the taste of the day, all ambiguity of exposition, he unrolled the classic world, and traced in firm clear lines a picture of the Roman republic with its great figures, such as Cicero, Cato, Cassius and Brutus, its populace, its soldiers, and, dominating all, the gigantic triumphant figure of Cæsar. His grand and austere work possessed not only an historic and artistic value, but also a symbolical one. It was a drama of the entire Cæsarian idea, a defense of the individualistic genius in the classic and purely pagan sense, egotistic, unconquerable and fruitful. Two other theatrical successes of the year were by Rovetto and Martoglio.

For the protection of the Italian drama, a number of authors who met in Milan in September drew up resolutions demanding that the author's Society refuse to allow the production of any plays which they control on any stage which represented and kept in its repertoire works by foreign authors not under the patronage of the Society of Italian authors. The resolution met with extreme opposition in many quarters. The stage managers declared that they would defend their rights in the courts, if the resolution of the authors should go into effect. The leading Italian writers disapproved of the Milan resolutions, though the majority of the lesser lights highly favored the idea. Several prominent French authors declared their intention of carrying the matter to the Italian courts in case their works should be prohibited. The movement was re-

garded as a serious blow at artistic liberty, as an attempt to make the professional playwriting a mere vulgar commercialism. Had it arisen in America it would have been cited as an extension of the trust system.

A new drama by the Spanish dramatist, Echegaray; a noteworthy play by the Flemish poet Victor de Meyere; a socialistic play by the Belgian novelist M. Buysse; a tragedy by the Hungarian dramatist Victor Tardos; a new play by the Russian Maxim Gorki, complete the work of noteworthy examples of dramatic literature produced in Europe in 1903.

American Productions

In our own country the dramatic year was noted for its lack of really artistic productions, and for the multiplication of those inane entertainments called musical comedies. There were new pieces by Clyde Fitch, and Augustus Thomas, but nothing of unusual merit. There was really no dramatic literature produced by American playwrights, though the season scored a number of successful performances. The previous year's successes in England and France were reproduced on American boards.

The year 1903 will long be remembered as a year of theatre building. Thirteen new theatres were erected in New York, and thirty-three in the rest of the country. More than \$8,500,000 were spent on New York theaters, and nearly \$9,000,000 on the others, which means that \$17,000,000 were invested in one year in building for the entertainment of the American people. Four of the new theaters were under the control of the independents, and the remaining forty-two were under the control of the syndicate. The New Amsterdam theatre was pronounced one of the finest in the world. Prominent artists contributed to working out the new art design in its decoration and the result was something unique and beautiful. The large group of statues over the main entrance was by George Gray Barnard, one of the greatest of American sculptors, and a pioneer of the new art idea. The color scheme of the auditorium is in pastel shades. The lobbies, promenades, staircases and reception rooms have an individual scheme of decoration in harmony with that of the theatre as a whole. Friezes and panels

everywhere record historical fact or demonstrate poetical suggestion. The long frieze in the lobby illustrates the Shakespearian and Wagnerian drama. Panels illustrate the Greek and Roman period. The interest in the superb auditorium is not confined to the value and beauty of its coloring. An engineering principle is embodied which seems to aid and abet the artistic principle. The galleries are held up by great cantilevers which extend under the flooring, and there is not an interrupted sight line in the house.

In spite of the unprecedented activity in theatre building it was a year of hard times in the playhouses. Art and rubbish suffered together. The blank verse play, the problem play, the musical comedy, the comic opera, the costume play, the rural drama, the melodrama, the farce, each and all were involved in failure almost without parallel in stage annals.

Project for a National Theatre

A definite step was taken in the direction of establishing a national theatre in this country. At a dinner of the American Dramatist Club in New York the organization of a permanent society pledged to work for the establishment of a national art theatre in New York was resolved upon. Heinrich Conreid presented figures to show that a national theatre could be maintained at a cost much less than it is usual to suppose. What the establishment of a national theatre means for art accounts for the high place accorded to the drama in the German cities where there is a subsidy allowed the theatre by the Government.

CHAPTER XVI

ART AND MUSIC

Lack of appreciation of contemporary American art had been a subject of discussion for so many years that by the beginning of the new century some of the results of the discussion began to appear. The American public seemed to be taking notice. Encouraging symptoms tending toward betterment were not wanting in the year 1903; as the official recognition by the administration of Greater New York of a commission to take charge of the official art of the municipality; the maintenance of important international exhibitions of paintings and sculpture outside of New York City, notably at Philadelphia and St. Louis; and the absence of visible symptoms in that decline of standards and execution noticeable in European art, more particularly in that of France. The characteristics of contemporary American art were a generally high order of technical ability and artistic sanity, a general temperance and discretion which hinders the artist from essaying foolish tasks, from endeavoring to interpret with affected and imperfect workmanship incongruous or impossible themes, as is constantly done in England or on the continent.

New York showed signs of becoming the center of an ever increasing quantity of intellectual work. The city seemed proving quite as attractive to writers and painters as to millionaires and their families. The more eminent artists, so far as they live in American cities at all, tend strongly to live in or near New York. The good exhibitions in other cities are supplied largely by pictures of New York painters, and their art schools offer opportunities to the entire country.

American Exhibits

The oldest of the American exhibiting bodies, the Academy of Design, opened its seventy-eighth annual exhibition at the Fine Arts

Gallery in New York City, January 3. The jury of selection awarded the Thomas B. Clark prize of \$300.00 for the best American figure composition to Mrs. Amanda Brewster Sewell, for her large decorative panel, "The Sacred Hecatomb," the Inness gold medal for the best landscape in the exhibition to Mr. Leonard Ochtman for his tonal canvas, "A Gray Morning"; and the Julius Hallgarten prizes for the best three oils by artists under thirty-five years of age were awarded, the first to Mr. H. M. Walcott's original and attractive figure work composition, "At the Party," the second to Mr. William F. Kline's beautiful figure and color work, "Leda and the Swan," and the third to Miss Belle Haven's charming landscape and figure work, "The Last Load." Next to the prize pictures, the interest centered in four unusual portraits: Mr. Irving R. Wiles's portrait of Mr. O. Rowland; Mr. Carroll Beckwith's Captain MacDougall; Mr. Frank Fowler's "President Hadley," and Mr. William Chase's "Emil Paur."

The opinion of the critics was very much divided as to the merits of the twenty-fifth exhibition of the Society of American Artists held in New York in April. Some of the tendencies noted were a gradual growth in the average of achievement; that the number of canvases painted by Americans in Paris was increasing year by year; and that, despite the great names in the catalogue, the list of painters who were not exhibiting with the Society, or with the Academy, was growing so long as to suggest the condition that resulted in the formation of the Society itself by seceders from the Academy. All critics united, however, in commending the award of the prizes which was as follows: The Carnegie prize of \$500 for the most meritorious oil painting by an American artist, portraits excepted, to Douglas Volk's "The Boy With the Arrow," the Webb prize of \$300 for the best landscape or marine to Louis Loeb's "The Dawn," and the Shaw memorial prize of \$300 for the best picture by a woman to Mrs. Kenyon Cox's "Olive." Among pictures that were quite generally praised were Mr. Abbott Thayer's "Winged Figure," a memorial to Robert Louis Stevenson occupying the place of honor in the gallery; a powerful marine by Winslow Homer, and Emil Carlsen's "Summer Night."

According to the majority of art critics the best exhibition which

appeared in any American city during the year was the seventy-second exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts opened in Philadelphia on January 19. Mr. Arthur Hoeber, the well-known art critic pronounced it far and away the most important art event of the year. Nearly 1,200 numbers appeared in the catalogue. The place of honor was assigned to Mr. John S. Sargent's portrait of James Ridley Carter, though Cecilia Beaux attracted more attention with her portrait of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, to which she brought all the refinement and charm of her art, vesting her canvas with quiet, womanly dignity and a delightful color sense. The number and the high quality of the portraits exhibited made this branch of art first in importance. A panel of six Whistlers was something of an event, though they were little more than the painter's studies. Edwin Abbey's "Sylvia" was conspicuously placed in the most important gallery, and proved exceedingly effective.

That the eastern cities had no monopoly of the artistic interests and activity of the country was demonstrated by the excellence of two November exhibitions, one in Pittsburg and one in Chicago. The eighth annual exhibition at the Carnegie Institute was coincident with the celebration of the founding of that Institution. The three medals carrying with them prizes of \$1,500, \$1,000, and \$500 respectively, were awarded to "A Woman Reading," by Frank W. Benson, of Boston; "Ariadne Abandoned," by Bryson Burroughs, of New York City; and "The Abandoned Quarry," by W. L. Lathrop, of New Hope, Pa. The Carnegie exhibitions are thoroughly international, for not only is the art of the foremost American painters fostered, but the leading artists of Europe have come to look upon the Pittsburg exhibition as second only to the Salon in Paris, the Academy in London and the Society in New York. The jury system which is one of the most efficient of any known exhibiting body, extends its jurisdiction to London, Paris and Munich, where advisory committees pass upon the merits of the paintings contributed from the English and continental artists. Every effort is made to avoid dictatorship, conventionalism, red-tapeism, or sectional prejudice. In 1903 one entire gallery was given up to a collection of works contributed by members of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Engravers of London.

The Chicago exhibit was noted for the wide range of territory covered by the artists represented. The N. W. Harris prize of \$500 was awarded to Mr. John S. Sargent for his well known portrait of William M. Chase. Seventeen pictures of John W. Alexander were hung in prominent positions and received a great deal of attention. Theodore C. Steele of Indianapolis, and David Ericson of Duluth came in for considerable praise. Among Chicago artists one prize of \$100 went to Mrs. Geneve Sargeant's "Margaret," a compelling little picture suggestive of Sargent or Whistler. A special prize of \$50 was given to Bertha Menzler's "The Cloud;" pronounced the best landscape that ever came from a Chicago studio.

The second annual exhibition of the Society of Illustrators opened February 2 at the International Gallery in New York City, and was immediately pronounced far better in quality than the maiden exhibition of the year before, embodying more serious effort and greater dignity of thought and execution. Of the pretty girl and well trousered man, a product of superficial cleverness of line demanded by the commercial publisher, there was but little shown. The pictures that received the highest praise from spectators were Arthur I. Keller's "Don Quixote in his Library," and Howard Pyle's "Burning Ship." Striking and characteristic battle scenes by Mr. R. F. Zogbaum; marines by Mr. Henry Reuter Dahl, and representative works by Wenzell, Thulstrup, Leyendecker Smedley, Frederick Dorr Steele, Florence Scovel Shinn and Louis Loeb were important features of the exhibition. As a whole the display embodied the best American illustration work, and that meant the best in the world in this particular branch of art.

American architects and the artists and craftsmen allied with the architects in aiding or supplementing their efforts gave an exceedingly interesting exhibition in New York in February, as the eighteenth annual exhibition of the Architectural League. The painters provided appropriate rural decorations; the sculptors joined with the architects to produce harmonious effect; workers in stained glass, wood, iron and brass, added their efforts to those of the architects to secure appropriate and impressive results. One of the most conspicuous features was Mr. George B. Post's comprehensive plan for the new buildings of the College of the City of New York. The

Fine Arts Building for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, designed by Cass Gilbert, established a high standard of architecture. The sky-scraper which has become such an important feature of the modern city, was well represented among the plans exhibited. These designs and the drawings of bridges across the East River are significant of the breadth of the League's exhibition. The mural decorations, by Mr. Frederick Dana Marsh, and Mr. E. H. Blashfield were the most notable decorative features.

The Royal Academy

The spring exhibition of the Royal Academy in London was generally characterized as an exhibition without any overmastering picture. The catholicity of taste, the broadening of the academic point of view was the most encouraging feature noted in this typically representative display of British art. Enthusiasm for Mr. Sargeant seemed to be on the wane. He exhibited six excellent portraits, though none of them could be called a sensation. Mr. La Thangue's landscapes aroused the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the critics. Mr. Furse's "Return from the Ride" handled an ambitious theme with competence, mastery and beauty. Mr. Edwin Abbey's "Potpourri" was an exquisite bit of color work. Other artists whose pictures were favorably received were Stanhope Forbes, J. W. Waterhouse, J. Seymour Lucas, John Collier, and George Loosely.

French Salons

Progress in art seemed to be the fashion of the day, and the craze for the modern threatened to lead to a perversion of true art. Even in Italy, the land of classicism, the modern style of painting was in vogue. In France both critics and artists seemed to have gone mad on the subject. The salons of the great rival artistic societies of Paris, the old salon of the Society of French Artists and the new salon of the National Society were held simultaneously in the Palais Des Beaux Arts, thus giving the critics an excellent opportunity to compare the work of the two. Most serious criticism launched against the National Society was that it was steeped in the very errors which it originally started out to combat. Portraits

commanded the greatest attention, notably those of Carolus Duran, Blanche, Jean Enders, and Jose Frappa. The landscapes were innumerable, and often remarkable from the standpoint of technique. The picture that made the strongest impression on the daily visitors was Alfred Roll's "Maternity," a veritable object lesson in popularizing the arguments of Kaiser Wilhelm and President Roosevelt.

Eighteen hundred paintings were exhibited at the Society of French Artists, or the Old Salon, as it is commonly called. Of these 1,200 did not rise above honorable mediocrity; but there were fewer sensations and horrors than ever before. Venerable exhibitors, such as Bouguereau, Bonnat, Lefevre, Breton, Harpignies, and Gerome bravely held their own. The Salon, moreover, contained many agreeable surprises, and honest conscientious seeking for the truth was manifested by the younger men in every department of art. It is worthy of note that the two rival salons more closely resembled each other than on any occasion since their memorable separation twelve years before.

The Grand Prix de Rome, the most coveted prize at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, was won by M. Monchablon, the son of a well known French painter. The subject was "The Return of the Prodigal Son" according to the Gospel of St. Luke, requiring a study of the nude, but at the same time admitting an element of the emotional and picturesque, which gave an excellent opportunity for the artistic temperament. The prize winner was a pupil of Jules Lefevre, and his work was full of the fire and color of the Orient, with a sort of Delacroix passion, the picture as a whole denoting a superior talent and being full of promise. The prize sent the successful competitor to the Villa Medici in Rome, where he is supported by the State for four years. Each winner of the prize receives when he leaves Paris 600 francs for travelling expenses, and thereafter receives an annual grant of 3,560 francs.

Flemish Art

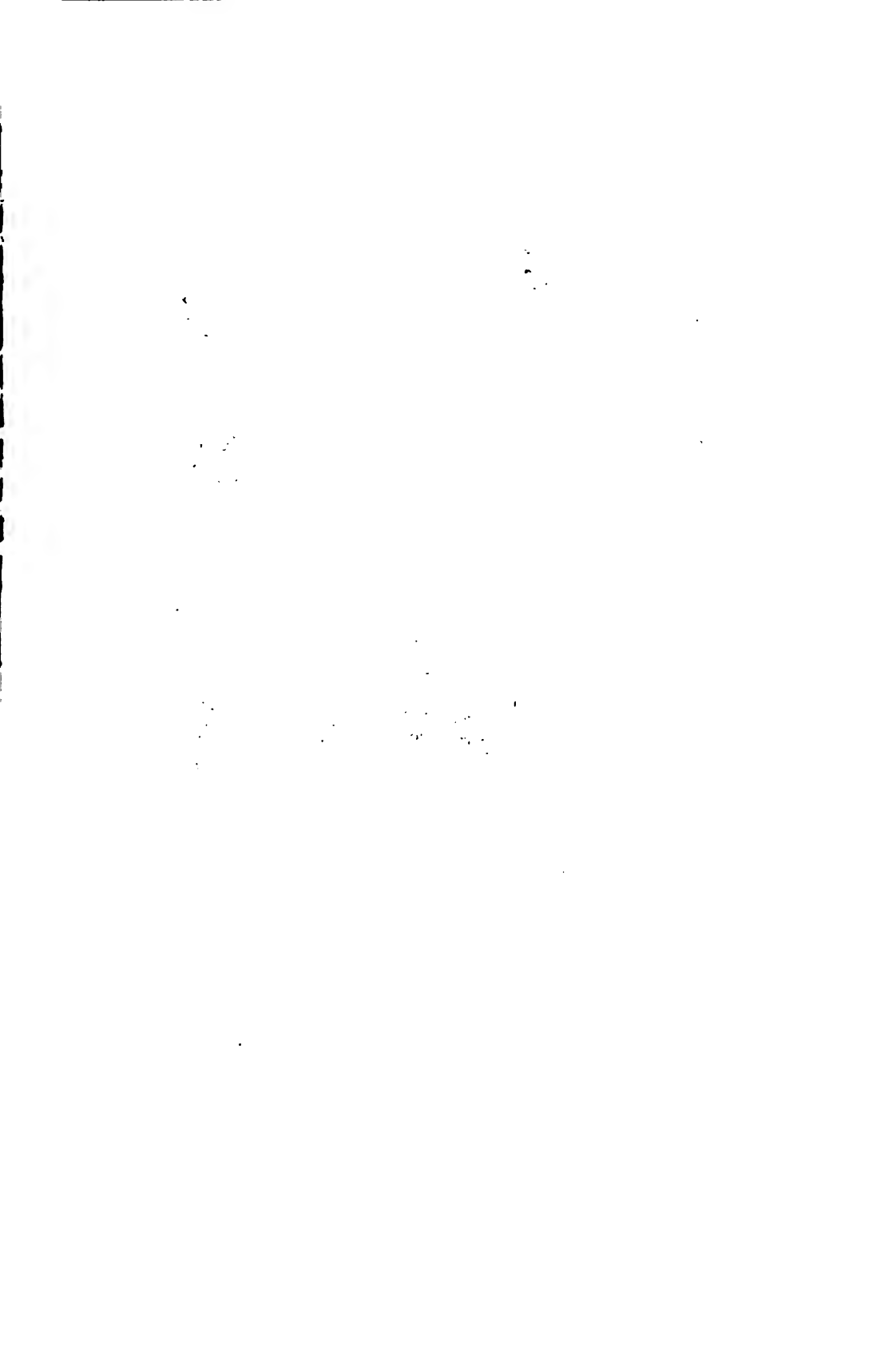
Comparing the painting of Holland with the academic production of France and England, one is struck with the sobriety and excellence of the Dutch school. There is, first of all, a genuine continuation of the traditions of the seventeenth century, which rests not upon organized authority, but upon the temperament of individual artists. The

level of craftsmanship is higher than will be found elsewhere. There is a refreshing absence of incompetence and eccentricity. The Dutch painters know their subjects, chiefly the landscape and peasant life of their own country, and know how to make paint assume the look of light, air and life. These things were easily verified by comparing the exhibitions at Amsterdam and The Hague, with those in London and Paris. The chief note sounded in Dutch painting is the beauty of common things.

The tri-annual salon held at Brussels in October exhibited 1,154 canvases, and a great variety of works in sculpture and fine arts. Belgium was naturally represented by the largest number of exhibits. France, England, Holland, Germany, Italy and Switzerland following in the order named. The most impressive canvas of all was the "Homme Dieu" of Jean Delville, an intricate and clever composition, a remarkable color scheme and an ensemble fraught with emotion, depicting the intensity of human suffering. Among other Belgian painters who attracted attention were Laeremans, Leempoels, Broerman, De Koster, and Courtens.

German Exhibits

The official salon at Berlin for 1903 was more of an international event than were the French, English or American exhibitions. The work of the German painters was almost obscured by that of French, Belgian and American artists. The Salon of Honor, that is to say the room reserved for paintings of royalty, contained a series of paintings of the Emperor by German artists. Patriotic pictures appeared to be on the decline. The halls reserved for the Duesseldorf school exhibited works all of the same type, regular and mediocre, clumsy portraits and conventional peasants. One painter from the Duesseldorf School gave an example of all that is strongest and best in his training in the picture "Waiting for the Tide," an artistic composition admirably executed by Herr Klein-Chavelier. In connection with other indications of an awakening in the German art world, the revolt against the imperial influence in the plan of the new Berlin Gallery was significant. The Imperial Order taking the control of the National Gallery away from the Berlin municipality, and placing it under the ministry of education was also resented by many artists and pa-





SIGFRIED CONRIFO

trons of art. The new gallery was to be endowed by private contributions and housed by the City. Two Munich artists, Franz Stuck and Leo Samberger, exhibited works of undeniable originality.

Representative Russian Works

The exhibition of Russian artists in St. Petersburg offered the opportunity of making the acquaintance of painters whose work in force and originality was closely allied to that of the well known Russian novelists. Three pictures were of especial interest,—Professor Repin in a characteristic painting, "Freedom," gave the theme of the love of liberty an extremely original treatment, picturing a young man and woman clothed in conventional raiment, struggling exultantly in the open sea. Through a singular conception the painter Bunin stirred up a considerable sensation in art circles. A Moscow journalist wrote under the canvas his destructive verdict in the single word "Coarseness." Only a complete misunderstanding of the artistic purpose of Bunin could make such a violent condemnation possible, for the artist in all seriousness presented Leo Tolstoi as "Soul Fisher" for the sect established by him, and with him as his disciples three other celebrated personages, Maxim Gorky, Anton Chekhov, and the painter, Professor Repin. A picture by G. K. Backmanson, "A Recitation from the Poet Maykow in the Casino of the Ismail Life Guard Regiment in the Presence of the Grand Duke Constantine," also brought upon the canvas portraits of well known Russian men. The Grand Duke, originator of the entertainments for the literary and musical instruction of officers, which since 1884 have been held regularly in the Casino of the regiment, is the most marked among the surrounding personages. The painting was presented to the regiment by the painter, himself a former Life Guardsman.

Individual Works

Of individual paintings, the portrait of President Roosevelt, by John S. Sargent, was in many respects the most notable of the year. It was not only an example of Mr. Sargent's art of portraiture, but a correct and expressive representation of the forceful Mr. Roosevelt, the intrinsic power, virility and seriousness of the work ranked the production among the artist's most spirited and spontaneous works.

In individual works of sculpture, Germany led other countries. A colossal statue of Richard Wagner by Gustav Eberlein was unveiled in Berlin October 1. Otto Lessing's statue of Shakespeare was erected in Weimer, the home of Schiller and Goethe. Professor Hundrieser, of Berlin, won the competition for a memorial monument to be erected in Berne, Switzerland, commemorating the inauguration of the postal union. A new statue of Ernest Renan, the work of Jean Bouchier, was erected in the village of the philosopher's birth, its unveiling being marked by riotous demonstration.

If we note the arts and crafts on the continent we shall find two marked phases of awakened industrial zeal, the revivals of traditional crafts in the newly inspired creation of modern arts and wares. In Norway there was a revival of the traditional art of tapestry; in Russia and Bohemia, wood-carving, tapestries and embroideries; in Germany and Hungary, in pottery; in England, that of hand made furniture. After more than three years' rest, the Arts and Crafts Society of London opened its seventh exhibition at the New Gallery, but instead of any signs of progress, there were symptoms of exhaustion, if not deterioration.

THE YEAR IN MUSIC.

The year 1903 in the musical world was one noted for performance, rather than for production, America winning the world's laurels in this respect. To Mr. Heinrich Conreid was due the credit for the greatest musical event of the year, the presentation of Parsifal at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. The retirement of Maurice Grau from the direction of the Metropolitan Opera House marked the beginning of a new regime for American opera. Mr. Conreid entered upon his new field with the determination to give greater attention to the artistic side of the enterprise. He bore the reputation of having accomplished much with little. His career began as an actor in 1872, and he advanced steadily both in his profession and in theatre management in Vienna, Leipsic and Bremen. In 1877 he came to the United States as stage director of the Germania Theatre. For ten years previous to his appointment to the management of the Metropolitan Opera House he had won an enviable reputation as director of the Irving Place Theatre, New York.

In the direction of the Metropolitan Opera House Mr. Conreid came into control of the most conspicuous institution of its kind in the world. Many European opera houses would prosper for a week on the receipts of a single performance at the Metropolitan. The forces on the stage included more than three hundred persons. An orchestra of seventy players, a chorus of twice as many singers, a ballet of forty, besides a small army of scene painters, stage hands, electricians and seamstresses. For four years the annual subscription to the opera had amounted to about \$300,000, and at its annual meeting in April the Grau Company declared a dividend of nearly one hundred per cent.

Mr. Conreid's decision to produce *Parsifal* during his first season aroused both praise and protest. Frau Cosima Wagner, on the plea that it was her husband's wish that the work should never be produced elsewhere than at Bayreuth, began proceedings for an injunction prohibiting its production in New York. Her American counsel put the case as follows: Frau Wagner regards the execution of her dead husband's wishes as a sacred trust; mercenary motives are utterly divorced from her personality, which is emotional and religious. In the interests of art, furthermore, she would protest against a production of her husband's operas on a commercial basis." In a later interview, the Wagner attorney spoke of the sacrilege that would follow the presentation of this religious drama at a New York theatre. "*Parsifal*," he declared, "will be hacked and spoiled. The artistic atmosphere will be lacking. How can it be otherwise with the glare of the electric lights, the chatter in the boxes, the unseemly applause, and the presence of bejewelled women of fashion who come to be seen and not to do homage?" Dr. Hans Richter, the Wagnerian conductor at the Metropolitan, was vehement and bitter. He declared, "There is but one way of obstruction, namely — the boycott. We must show in a practical manner that we want nothing to do with a country which permits such robbery. I realize, and am grieved to say that boycotting would amount to nothing, but the Americans are a religious people, and the American clergy could do much by objecting to a performance of the religious features."

The clergymen did object so strenuously that *Parsifal* was a popular text for sermons in New York and elsewhere. Early in October the Presbytery of New York placed it in the Presbyterian *index expurga-*

torius in the following terms: "In view of the proposed production of 'Parsifal' in this city, it is resolved that the Presbytery reiterates its action of April 10, 1902, recording its emphatic opposition to the presentation on the public stage of the Passion Play or any presentation of the scenes in the life of our Lord or the celebration of the sacraments of the Lord's Supper."

Mr. Conreid's only reply to the protests of Frau Wagner and her disciples, and the denunciation of the clergymen was the announcement that he was going forward with his preparations for a magnificent production of Parsifal, beginning on Christmas eve of 1903 and continuing for ten successive Thursdays. He was upheld by a goodly majority, who felt that Frau Wagner's objections were purely sentimental, that if she had any proprietary rights she and her counsel should abide by them, and not make too great a parade of ethics. It was a question whether the sequestration of any masterpiece was legitimate, and limiting Parsifal to Bayreuth appeared to the American mind very much like prohibiting the production of Hamlet outside of Stratford-on-Avon.

The claim that no inspired production of Parsifal was possible outside of Bayreuth met its strongest refutation in the performance given at the Metropolitan Opera House on December 24. Viewed from the mechanical and artistic side, the musical critics of New York were unanimous in their opinion that the performance was superior to any rendition the opera ever received at Bayreuth and superior to that of any other lyric drama staged in this country. Not only were the scenes themselves more beautiful than at Bayreuth, but the costumes were altogether more costly and elaborate. This was especially true of the magic garden scene, which fairly dazzled by its riot of color, and its bewildering dances of graceful, flower-like girls. Mr. Huneker, writing for the *Sun*, declared that Frau Wagner ought humbly to invite Messrs. Conried, Lautenschlager and Fuchs to go to Bayreuth and show her how to do the thing. Mr. Burgstaller's Parsifal, already favorably known abroad, received high praise in New York. He rose to the obligations of the part, and put into his representation of the sorely tempted youth a force of simplicity, and intensity of fervor, and a thorough understanding of the character. Madame Turnina's Kundry was eminently satisfactory — an enchantress who, through all her

feminine allurements, steadily preserved a spiritual quality, through which Wagner lifted this character out of the ruck of operatic sirens.

Irreverence toward the great master Wagner could hardly be charged against any of the artists who took part in the performance, inasmuch as nearly all had assisted in the representations of the work at Bayreuth. Felix Mottl, the noted German conductor, had repeatedly superintended Parsifal performances at Bayreuth. Anton Fuchs had charge of the performances given in Munich under the direction of Richard Wagner for King Ludwig of Bavaria. All the leading singers had been coached by Madame Wagner in their parts, and had been pronounced by her to interpret their respective roles according to her ideals. Other incidents added a dignity not common to the ordinary operatic representation. Parsifal was sung outside the regular subscription, and at just double the usual prices. The hour of beginning was five in the afternoon, and the acts were separated by intervals during which the audience retired for dinner. Nobody was allowed to enter the theatre after the action had begun. The gala costumes by which the boxes, as a rule, rival or overshadow the stage, gave way to apparel more in keeping with the spirit of the drama.

Richard Wagner completed Parsifal, his last work, only a few months before it was produced, though he had harbored the idea of it for many years. Some of the music for it had been written as early as 1857, and the poem was finished in 1877. He is said to have worked for three years steadily on the instrumentization of the opera, finishing the whole of it in January, 1882. He found the story in the epoch of the German Minnesinger Wolfram von Eschenback; he also drew material from Chaetrien de Troyes. Various interpretations have been made to clarify the vague and symbolic atmosphere in which the opera is enveloped. The wiser critics, however, were content to acknowledge the profound poetic impression made on the hearer, without attempting to analyze or explain too closely its mediæval beauty.

Musical critics of all countries have always clashed in their opinions of Parsifal, and following its production in New York, the same dissonant voices were heard. Mr. Ernest Newman, one of the most acute and authoritative of Wagnerian critics, declared it in many ways the most wonderful and impressive thing ever done in music. Mr. James Huneker scorned it as musical rubbish, and between these

two extreme opinions the other critics took more moderate grounds, finding much to praise, as well as much to condemn. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that, while Parsifal was weaker in energy and invention than almost any of the other Wagnerian operas, in its symbols of suffering and lamentation, of sadness and terror, of pity and aspiration, it had never been surpassed. The "Good Friday" music and the music of the final scene were placed at the height of Wagner's achievements.

A Good Year for Wagner

It was a good year for Wagner in a general sense. The performances at the Prinz Regenten Theatre at Munich were highly successful. It will be remembered that the original plan of Wagner was to make Munich the Mecca for music lovers that Bayreuth afterward became, and there were many indications that his dream would be realized in spite of his own abandonment of it. Wagner's heirs received a total of \$115,000 in royalties during the year, exclusive of the Bayreuth profits. Lohengrin, the most popular, yielded \$68,000. It was given 997 times in Germany, 420 times in Holland, France and Italy, 312 times in America and Great Britain. The American managers paid \$23,000 for Lohengrin alone. The next most popular opera was Tannhäuser, which netted \$32,752.

Elgar in New York

Another New York performance was regarded as a significant event by musicians, though it made little noise outside the inner circles,—the production of Mr. Edward Elgar's "The Dream of Gerontius," by the Oratorio Society. This cantata, based on Cardinal Newman's poem of the same name, was first performed at the Birmingham Musical Festival in England in 1900. It is a description of the subjective experiences in the death of a true believer, and the disposition of his soul after death, according to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Five years previous Mr. Elgar was a comparatively obscure organist striving unsuccessfully to obtain recognition for his compositions in that London, which in 1903 honored him with knighthood. His rise was the more remarkable in view of his total lack of conservatory training. As a theorist, a composer in large

forms, and an orchestral colorist, he had worked out his own salvation. In England, Mr. Vernon Black, one of the most eminent of British musical critics, declared him an equal in certain respects of Beethoven. How far this verdict influenced the New York critics it is impossible to say, but at all events no creative achievement in recent music had evoked such instant and extraordinary praise as that awarded to the "Dream of Gerontius." Mr. Krebiehl did not hesitate to say that "English festivals have given us nothing really comparable with this work," while another critic declared boldly that "England had at last produced a composer capable of handling the entire machinery of modern composition, not merely with the skill of a master technician but with the boldness and dexterity of a master musician.

The Bach Bayreuth

An event of considerable importance in the music world is the six days' performance of Bach music in the village of Bethlehem, Pa. The old Moravian church at Bethlehem has become the shrine of devotees of the marvelous man who builded better than he knew or realized the buttresses of modern music. The third annual festival marked the completion of the experimental stage of this Bach Bayreuth. A large number of visitors from outside the little Moravian community indicated the place that the festival had taken in the musical world, and the serious manner in which the work was being carried on. The performances as arranged by the director, Mr. J. Fred Wolle, had a religious as well as an artistic significance, all of them taken together forming one of the most important seasons of the Christian year, commemorative of events in the life and sacrifice of Christ. The whole performance was characterized by enthusiasm and spirit, and by perfect familiarity with the music. Bach devotees declared that the conditions were nearly perfect for hearing and pondering the work of the great master.

New Compositions

In the production of new music the year was most fertile in Italy, though a comparison of the new works with those of a decade previous shows an unexpected change in ideals. The scenes modelled according to the so-called realistic theories had disappeared, leaving

the trace of their popularity only in an occasional musical form. The old sentimental romantic drama triumphed for a second time, denying openly the gospel of realism, and wooing in the music and words the ideals of other times. Two notable examples, "Adrienne Lecouvreur," by Cilea, and "Oceanea," by Smareglia, the most successful operatic productions of recent years of the stage of Milan, belonged, frankly, to the romantic school. The same was true of "Madam Butterfly," by Puccini, and "Rolando," by Leoncavallo, two new works completed, though not produced, in 1903.

Apart from new works by the Italian composers, only two new operas are worthy of extended notice: The Hungarian Goldmark's "Berlichingen Götz" and the French Hahn's "La Carmelite." The dramatic basis of Goldmark's opera is of course Goethe's drama "Götz von Berlichingen" with its history of romance. It is a long work composed of five acts divided into nine scenes. As a spectacle it is superbly rich, and so appealed to a wide public. In his orchestration Goldmark proved himself the same magnificent master, the same unsurpassable colorist as in "The Queen of Sheba." The opera, though written for Vienna and Budapest, was received as the most significant lyric drama that had been sung in Europe within a decade.

M. Faynaldo Hahn is a pupil, and to some extent an imitator of Massenet. His new opera "La Carmelite" dealt with the time of Louis XIV, having the King for its chief character. The Louis XIV of the opera is, however, a sort of poetic character quite unlike the well-known monarch of history, and the plot involves a lady of honor named Louise, who loves the King, a Marquise who comes into favor with the latter, and a Bishop who preaches, blesses and pardons. The work was beautifully mounted at the Opera Comique, and Madam Calve received new laurels for her interpretation of the leading feminine role.

APPENDIX

THE INTERNATIONAL YACHT RACES

The general interest in the great international yacht race was attested by the number of people who witnessed the twelfth attempt to lift the *America's* cup. The fleet of steamers, tugs, and yachts that followed in the wake of the contestants, *Reliance* and *Shamrock III* carried at least 50,000 persons. In London, Liverpool, and Glasgow vast crowds surrounded the bulletins announcing the progress of the race. An enormous sum of money had been expended in preparation for the contest. It was estimated that the cost to Sir Thomas Lipton alone was over \$700,000. The total cost of his new yacht, including its various sails and experiments, was placed at \$450,000. In addition thirty-three vessels, including launches, and 225 men were employed by the British yachtsman to help lift the cup. Both the new challenger and the defender represented the greatest skill and the best material available. *Shamrock III* had to show her superiority over her two predecessors, *Shamrock I* and *II*; while the New York Yacht Club's *Reliance* had to win a preliminary race over the *Constitution* and the *Columbia* before she could assume the rôle of defender.

The time chosen for the race was a month earlier than that of the two previous races, though the course decided upon was the same, fifteen miles to the windward and return, off the Jersey coast. The result was three straight victories for the American boat.

The first race, August 22, was won by *Reliance* by 9 minutes' elapsed time; 7 minutes, 3 seconds corrected time. The second race, August 25, was won by *Reliance* by 3 minutes, 16 seconds elapsed time; 1 minute, 19 seconds corrected time. In the third race, September 3, sailed after five attempts to finish a race within the time limit, *Reliance* was 11 minutes, 3 seconds ahead of *Shamrock* at the outward mark, the Irish boat failing to finish.

In the midst of the jubilation over this addition to the long list of American victories since the cup was first captured in 1851, there were many words of comfort and congratulation for the challenger. Sir Thomas Lipton took his third defeat as philosophically as could be expected, declaring that the best boat won; that he could neither build nor sail a yacht, and that the best men

he could hire to build and sail them did not seem to be able to rival the American builders and skippers. Many commentators expressed the hope that these would be the last races between "sailing machines," and that the cup may hereafter be sailed for in boats of more practical and useful design. London comment did not hesitate to grant that the superiority of American yacht design had been demonstrated beyond question. "There are some naval matters," the *Daily News* said, "in regard to which, as compared to Americans, we only know the alphabet."

MOTORING

International competition in the production and perfection of high-speed motor-cars excited wide interest in the fourth of a series of motor-car races for the cup given by Mr. James Gordon Bennett. The contest, which took place in Ireland July 2, resulted in a victory for the German machine, operated by M. Jenatzy. The length of the race course was 388 miles, and the time made by the successful car, 6 hours and 39 minutes.

An automobile race from Paris to Madrid, for which there were 250 entries, was started from Versailles on May 23, but stopped before its completion by the French Minister of the Interior, owing to the occurrence of several fatal accidents.

The first successful automobile trip across the American continent was made by Dr. H. Nelson Jackson and Sewall K. Crocker, starting from San Francisco May 3, 1903, arriving in New York City 64 days later. Their route was through Northern California, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Iowa to Chicago, thence through Cleveland, Buffalo, and Albany, to New York. A second trip was made in 61 days by E. T. Fetch and M. C. Krarup, who left San Francisco on June 20. Their route was through Carson City, Salt Lake City, Denver, Omaha, Des Moines, Chicago, Buffalo, Albany, to New York City.

ROWING

The results of the principal rowing events of 1903 were as follows:

At New London, Conn., June 25, the Yale University Eight defeated the Harvard University Eight. Time: Yale, 20:19 $\frac{1}{4}$ minutes; Harvard, 20:29 $\frac{1}{4}$ minutes.

At Poughkeepsie, N. Y., over the usual four miles course, the intercollegiate race of University Eights resulted as follows: Cornell, first; time, 18:57 minutes; Georgetown, second, 19:21 minutes; Wisconsin, third, 19:29 $\frac{3}{4}$ minutes; University of Pennsylvania, fourth, 19:33 $\frac{3}{4}$ minutes; Columbia, fifth, 19:54.

In the English University Boat Race, rowed over the usual course on the Thames, from Putney to Mortlake, on April 1, Cambridge defeated Oxford by six lengths in 19:35 minutes.

The most notable event of the Henley Regatta, on July 16, was the winning of the Diamond Sculls by F. S. Kelley, who also won the amateur championship of England. Refusal to accept the entry of Constance S. Titus, champion oarsman of America, for this event caused considerable discussion in the sporting world. Mr. Titus had been a contestant for this trophy in 1902, when he was defeated by Mr. Kelley.

CRICKET

The English Cricket Eleven visiting in Australia won four successive victories over the Eleven of South Australia, the Victoria Eleven, the New South Wales Eleven, and the Queensland Eleven, at Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane respectively. On December 17 a test match at Sydney between the English Eleven and a picked Australian Eleven resulted in a victory for the former by five wickets.

The annual cricket match between Oxford and Cambridge, played at Lord's, London, July 4, ended in a victory for Oxford by 268 runs.

The match for the English County Championship, September 16, between Middlesex, as the champion county, and the rest of England, resulted in a draw.

FOOTBALL

Princeton won the football honors in the East for 1903, winning eleven games and losing none. Michigan won the championship of the West, scoring twelve victories and no defeats. The records of the principal games were as follows:

Princeton, 11; Yale, 6. Princeton, 44; Cornell, 0. Princeton, 11; Carlisle Indians, 0. Princeton, 29; Brown, 0.

Yale, 16; Harvard, 0. Yale, 25; Columbia, 0.

Harvard, 17; Pennsylvania, 10. Harvard, 12; Carlisle, 11. Harvard, 29; Brown, 0.

Columbia, 17; Cornell, 12. Columbia, 18; Pennsylvania, 6.

Pennsylvania, 42; Cornell 0. Pennsylvania, 30; Brown, 0.

Carlisle, 16; Pennsylvania, 6.

West Point, 40; Annapolis, 5.

Michigan, 16; Wisconsin, 0. Michigan, 28; Chicago, 0.

BASEBALL

In professional baseball, the championship of the National League was won by Pittsburgh with a score of 91 games. Boston won the championship of the American League with 91 games. In the contest between the two champion clubs for the world's championship, Boston won by five games to three.

TURF EVENTS

The leading horse races of the year were as follows:

The American Derby, Chicago, distance $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, won by Middleton's Picket; time, 2:33.

Kentucky Derby, Louisville, distance $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, won by C. R. Ellison's Judge Himes; time, 2:09.

Suburban Handicap, Sheepshead Bay, distance $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, won by the Hampden Stable's Africander; time, 2:10 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Brooklyn Handicap, Gravesend, distance $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, won by the Westbury Stable's Irish Lad; time, 2:05 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Brighton, Handicap, Brighton Beach, distance $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, won by J. B. Haggin's Waterboy; time, 2:03 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Futurity, Sheepshead Bay, distance 6 furlongs, won by Sydney Paget's Hamburg Belle; time, 1:13.

The English Derby, Epsom Downs, distance $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, won by Sir J. Miller's Rock Sand.

GOLF

The ninth annual championship of the United States Golf Association was held over the links of the Nassau Country Club, L. I., September 1-5. There were 145 entries, and the course covered a playing distance of 6,017 yards. Walter J. Travis, of the Garden City Golf Club, won for the third time in four years.

Miss Bessie Anthony won the ninth annual woman's championship of the United States Golf Association, over the links of the Chicago Golf Club, at Wheaton, September 29-October 5.

The intercollegiate tournament was held at Garden City, in October. Harvard again won the team honors, while the individual championship was won by Frank O. Reinhart, of Princeton.

The amateur championship of Great Britain was won by Robert Maxwell. The open championship was won by Harry Vardon. The championship of the Professional Golfers' Association was won by James Braid.

TENNIS

Capt. W. H. Collins, President of the English Lawn Tennis Association; H. L. Doherty, champion in singles, and R. F. Doherty, who, with his brother, held the doubles championship of England, the international title and the twin cups of the United States, and H. S. Mahoney, former English champion in singles, arrived in New York July 22. W. A. Larned, R. D. and G. L. Wrenn, Jr., were selected as their competitors for the Dwight F. Davis challenge trophy on the Longwood grounds, Boston, August 4-7.

In this tourney L. E. Ware and Holcombe Ward defeated Larned and Wright, winning the Eastern championship and the right to meet Collins and Waidner, the Western champions, at Newport, August 18. Larned defeated Ward in the finals of the cup singles and had the honor of challenging W. J. Clothier, winner of the cup in 1902. In the deciding sets of singles both the Dohertys defeated Larned in the semi-finals and H. L. Doherty forfeited to R. F., who won the championship.

The annual tournament of the United States National Lawn Tennis Association was held at the Casino, Newport, R. I., August 18-27. Among the more important games were the following: Kreigh Collins and L. H. Waidner, of Chicago, were defeated by L. E. Ware and Holcombe Ward in the East vs. West championships, Collins and Waidner lost to the Dohertys in a challenge contest; H. L. Doherty defeated Richard Stevens; W. J. Clothier defeated H. Ward; H. L. Doherty defeated H. S. Mahoney; Clothier beat H. F. Allen, the Pennsylvania champion, and Larned beat Huntington in the semi-finals in singles; H. L. Doherty beat Allen, and R. F. Doherty beat Clothier; H. L. Doherty beat Clothier in the final of the All Comers' match, and attained the honor of challenging Larned for the American title and trophy. In this contest Doherty won by scores. In attaining this championship the Dohertys added to their honors of having won the Davis cup and successfully defending the American doubles championship won the previous year.

CHESS

The annual team match on ten boards between teams of America and Great Britain for the \$1,000 Newnes prize, resulted, on April 4, in even scores. The fifth annual international intercollegiate cable chess match between Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Columbia on the one side, and Oxford and Cambridge on the other, ended in favor of the British collegians.

One of the most interesting chess events of the year was the encounter at Brighton, Eng., between Dr. E. Lasker, the world's champion and M. I. Tsch-

gorin, the Russian champion. Three out of the six games played were drawn: Dr. Lasker won two of the remaining three.

The biggest match by correspondence ever arranged was that between New York and Pennsylvania, with 254 players on a side. At the close of the year the series was not finished, but Pennsylvania stood in the lead.

In the annual tournament of the Western Chess Association held at Chicago in August, Max Judd, of St. Louis, succeeded L. Uedemann, of Chicago, as champion.

THE NOBEL PRIZES

Alfred Nobel, born in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1833, was the inventor (1867) of dynamite. After his death in 1896, it was announced that his will provided that his entire fortune of \$10,000,000, acquired from the manufacture of explosives, be placed in a trust fund, and that the annual interest, divided into five equal parts, be given as prizes for the greatest achievements in physics, chemistry, medicine, literature (idealistic), and in furthering the cause of peace. Each prize amounts to about \$40,000, the balance of the interest being devoted to the expenses of administration. During the first three years of the new century, the awards recognized four Germans, five Frenchmen, three Dutchmen, two Englishmen, one Russian, one Swiss, one Norwegian and one Dane. In 1903 the prize in physics was divided among M. Becquerel and M. and Mme. Curie for the discovery of radiating substances; it being claimed that M. Becquerel's observations of the strange properties of uranium had led the Curies to the discovery of radium. Arrhenius, a Swede, won the prize in chemistry, through an authoritative text-book on electro-chemistry, and his theory of ions, advanced to explain the dissociation of substances by electricity. The great Norwegian writer Björnstjerne Björnson received the prize in literature. Dr. Finsen, the Danish physician, received the award in medicine for his experiments in healing by electric light (see page 294). The prize for devotion to the cause of universal peace was given to Mr. Cremer, for thirty years secretary of the International Arbitration League.

FIRE AND FLOOD

Nearly six hundred people lost their lives in a fire which occurred on Wednesday, December 30, in the Iroquois theater, Chicago. The house was crowded with an afternoon audience composed largely of women and children, and it was among them that the greater number of deaths were caused by suffocation and crushing in the mad attempt to reach the doors. The fire began with a

small blaze in the stage draperies, supposed to have been caused by a calcium or arc light. This was followed by the explosion of a gas tank, and in a few minutes after the first alarm the smoke and flames were sweeping toward the galleries. Attempts to lower the asbestos curtain separating the stage from the auditorium were unavailing on account of some defect in the mechanism or to a strong draft toward the seats which jammed the curtain rod against the sides of the stage.

The theater building was but little damaged except by scorching. It was a new building, conforming in all respects but one to the most advanced ideas in theater construction, the only fault in its design being that there was no shaft or vent over the stage by which flame and smoke would have been drawn upward and away from the audience. The exits were ample in number, but many of them were locked or inaccessible, and before many of them the dead were found in ghastly piles.

Forest fires raged in the Adirondacks, the Catskills, the Maine woods, and many minor tracts of forest land, during the long droughts in May and June. In the Maine woods alone the fires caused a loss estimated at over \$3,000,000. The smoke of burning forests in eastern New York was so dense that even in New York City a yellow haze, almost as thick as an ocean fog, settled down over everything.

During the first fortnight in June floods of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and their tributaries, and sudden deluges in North and South Carolina caused damages mounting high into the millions. The lowest estimate of the loss to the crops in the Mississippi valley was \$5,000,000. Among the cities, Kansas City was the greatest sufferer. Several wards were made uninhabitable, and 23,000 persons rendered homeless. Houses that were not swept away were thickly coated with slime. Damages to property in the city and suburbs amounted to \$8,000,000. Topeka lost over \$500,000, and the smaller cities reached a total loss of \$4,000,000 more. Over three hundred lives were lost. Six counties in North and South Carolina were seriously affected by the deluge following the six days of rain beginning on June 1. Spartanburg bore all the loss of life and three-fourths of the loss of property. Nearly one hundred persons were drowned. Mills, warehouses, and private dwellings estimated at \$4,000,000 were washed away, railroad structures estimated at \$400,000 were destroyed, and over \$200,000 worth of cotton swept out to sea. The city of Gainesville, Ga., was partly destroyed by a tornado on June 1. The storm killed a hundred people, injuring twice as many more, and destroying houses and cotton mills.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS

Statistics published by the Interstate Commerce Commission show that during the year ending June 30, 1903, there were 9,840 persons killed on the railways of the United States, and 86,393 injured, making an average of 26.9 killed daily, and 209.7 injured. The seven years from 1897 to 1903 inclusive present a steady increase in the number of railway casualties. During that period the total number killed reached 55,167, and the number injured, 367,107. As compared with the records of English and European Railways, a large proportion of the accidents in the United States seem due to carelessness and ignorant blunders. During the same period that 9,840 persons were killed in the United States, only 1,096 were killed on English railways; and while one out of every 364 employees were killed in this country only one out of 750 were killed in Germany, and one out of 1,067 in Austria.

One hundred lives were lost in railway wrecks in the last week of 1903. Ninety passengers were killed in two wrecks, one in Michigan and one near Connellsville, Pennsylvania. Of the Pennsylvania disaster the explanation given is that heavy timbers falling from a freight train blocked the way for a following passenger train. The official explanation of the Michigan wreck is that the wind blew out a signal set to prevent the two trains running toward each other on the same track from coming together. The public did not seem inclined to accept such explanations, and the press made it an occasion to call loudly for the adoption of improvement in methods of operation, insuring greater security to life and property.

PROMINENT PERSONS WHO DIED IN 1903

Alexander, King of Servia, murdered in the palace of Belgrade, on the night of June 10. Born, 1876, the only son of King Milan and Queen Natalie, and the last of the Obrenovitch dynasty. Succeeded to the throne on the sudden abdication of his father 1889. After five years of regency, he arrested the Regents, and proclaimed himself of age, assuming the reins of Government, April 13, 1903. Suspended Constitution April, 1903, but re-adopted it after certain changes. His autocratic measures aroused the hostility of the Army and of the Karageorgevitch party, and led to the conspiracy by which he met his death.

Bain, Dr. Alexander, at Aberdeen, Scotland, Sept. 18, aged 85. Twenty years Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. Author: "The Senses and the Intellect," "The Emotions and the Will," "Mental and Moral Science," "Logic, Deductive and Inductive."

Baker, the Rev. Shirley, Nov. 30, aged 68. Practical ruler of Tonga for thirty years. Deported to Australia on charge of misrule, 1890.

Beets, Nikolaus, at Utrecht, March 13, aged 89. Novelist, styled the "Dutch Dickens."

Belknap, George E., Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy, at Key West, Fla., April, aged 71. Served in many naval battles in the Civil War. Admiral of U. S. Squadron in Chinese waters, 1889. Head of Naval Observatory for several years.

Bissell, W. S., Ex-postmaster-General, at Buffalo, Oct. 6, aged 56. Appointed postmaster-general by Pres. Cleveland, 1893; resigned, 1895.

Blouet, Paul ("Max O'Rell"), at Paris, May 25, aged 55. Lecturer, and author of "Jonathan and his Continent," "John Bull and his Island."

Boardman, Dr. George Dana, at Atlantic City, N. J., May, aged 75. Prominent Baptist preacher. Author.

Booth-Tucker, Mrs., from a railway accident in Colorado, Oct. 29. Daughter of Gen. Booth. Consul of the American Salvation Army, 1896-1903.

Bradley, the Very Rev. George Granville, March 13, aged 82. Master of University College, Oxford, 1870. Chaplain to Queen Victoria, 1874. Dean of Westminster, 1881-1903.

Brooks, Noah, at Pasadena, Cal., Aug. 16, aged 73. War correspondent, journalist, and writer of boys' books and historical studies. Author: "The

Boy Emigrants," "The Story of Marco Polo," "How the Republic is Governed," "American Party Politics."

Clark, the Right Rev. Thomas M., September, aged 91. Fifty years Bishop of Rhode Island. Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America, 1899-1903.

De Blowitz, Henri Stephen, at Paris, January 18. Thirty years correspondent of the *London Times*.

Deyn, Count Franz, Sept. 1, aged 65. Austro-Hungarian diplomat. Ambassador to England, 1888-1903.

Dodge, W. E., at New York, Aug. 10, aged 71. Philanthropist.

Donoghue, John, at New Haven, July. Sculptor. Awarded prize at the Chicago Columbian Exposition for his classical group, "Sophocles leading the Chorus after the Battle of Salamis."

Du Chaillu, Paul, at St. Petersburg, April 29, aged 68. Explorer and lecturer. Author: "Explorations in Equatorial Africa," "A Journey to Ashango Land," "Stories of the Gorilla Country," "The Land of the Midnight Sun."

Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan, Feb. 9, aged 87. Founder of the *Irish Nation*. Organized Tenant League, 1850. Member of Parliament, 1852. Emigrated to Victoria, 1855; made Prime Minister of Victoria, 1871; Knighted, 1873. Author: "Four Years of Irish History," "My Life in Two Hemispheres," "Conversations with Carlyle."

Draga, Queen of Servia, murdered at Belgrade, June 10 (see page 116).

Farrar, the Very Rev. Frederic William, at Canterbury, March 22, aged 72. Canon of Westminster, 1876. Chaplain of House of Commons, 1890. Dean of Canterbury, 1895-1903. Author: "Life of Christ," "Life of St. Paul," "Early Days of Christianity."

Foster, Bishop Randolph S., at Newton, Mass., May 1, aged 83. Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, U. S. A., 1872-1903.

Gibbs, Josiah Willard, at New Haven, April 28, aged 64. Made important contributions to the development of physical chemistry, for which he received Copley medal from Royal Society of England, 1901. Professor of Mathematical Physics at Yale, 1871-1903.

Gissing, George, Dec. 28, aged 46. English novelist. Author: "The Unclassed," "Workers in the Dawn," "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft."

Gude, Hans, at Berlin, Aug. 17, aged 78. Noted Swedish painter.

Hare, Augustus John Cuthbert, Jan. 22. Author: "Walks in Rome," "Walks in Florence," "Cities of Italy," "Memorials of a Quiet Life."

Henley, William Ernest, July 11, aged 54. English poet, playwright, and critic. Author: "The Works of Lord Byron," "English Lyrics," "Hawthorne and Lavender," "For England's Sake."

Herbert, the Right Hon. Sir **Michael**, in Switzerland, Sept. 30, aged 46. British Ambassador to the U. S., 1902-3.

Herford, Dr. **Brooke**, at Hampstead, Eng., Dec. 20, aged 73. Unitarian minister well known in U. S. and England.

Hewitt, Abram S., at New York City, Jan. 18, aged 80. Iron-master, business man, politician, and philanthropist. Democratic Member of Congress, 1874-87. Mayor of New York, 1887-8.

Hurst, Bishop John Foster, at Washington, May 4, aged 69. Methodist Bishop and Educator. Chancellor of the proposed Methodist University at Washington.

Jastrow, Dr. Marcus, at Philadelphia, October, aged 75. Prominent Jewish Rabbi. Editor of the Talmudic Dictionary.

Karaveloff, Pétko, Feb. 6, aged 58. Prime Minister of Bulgaria, 1880-1884, 1901.

Kaulbach, Friedrich, at Hanover, Germany, October, aged 81. Portrait painter. Fellow of the Berlin Academy since 1874.

Koebner, Siegfried Ernst, at Berlin, April 6, aged 59. Editor of the Berlin *National-Zeitung*.

Komatsu, Prince, at Tokio, Feb. 18. Japanese statesman and student of Western civilization. Special ambassador at the coronation of King Edward VII, 1902.

Lafitte, Pierre, at Paris, Jan. 4, aged 79. Professor at the College de France. An eminent Positivist, and the literary executor of Comte.

Lecky, the Right Hon. **W. E. H.**, Oct. 22, aged 65. English historian and man of letters. Author: "Rise of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," "History of European Morals," "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," "Democracy and Liberty," "The Map of Life." Member of Parliament, 1896, 1900. One of the twelve original members of King Edward's Order of Merit.

Legouvé, Ernest, at Paris, Mar. 14, aged 97. French dramatist.

Lyttleton, the Right Rev. Hon. **Arthur Temple**, Feb. 19. Bishop Suffragan of Southampton, Eng.

May, Phil, Aug. 5, aged 39. Caricaturist and "black and white" artist. Regular contributor to *Punch*.

Macdonald, Sir Hector, K. C. B., committed suicide at Paris, March 25, aged 50. Served with distinction in the Afghan War, 1896, with the Nile

expedition, 1888, in the Soudan, 1891, in South Africa, 1900. Made commander of the forces in Ceylon, 1902.

McCook, Gen. Alexander McDowell, of the U. S. Army, at Dayton, O., July, aged 72. Brevetted Major in the First Battle of Bull Run, 1861; Major-General, 1863. Represented U. S. at the coronation of the Czar, 1896.

Mills, Hon. David, at Ottawa, May 8. Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Milburn, Rev. Wm. Henry, at Santa Barbara, Cal., April 10, aged 80. Chaplain of U. S. House of Representatives, 1845-1885; of the Senate, 1893-1903. Blind for many years.

Mommsen, Theodor, at Berlin, Nov. 1, aged 86. Distinguished historian and jurist. Professor of Roman law at Zurich, 1852-4; at Breslau, 1854-8; of Ancient History, at Berlin, 1858-1903. Author: "Monuments of Grecian History," "History of Rome," "The Code of Justinian." Tried, but acquitted, on charge of slandering Bismarck, 1882.

Mwanga, King of Uganda, 1884-97, at Soychelles, May 8. Noted for his barbarous rule, and for his persecution of Christians. Defeated, captured, and exiled by British, 1897.

Palmer, Mrs. Alice Freeman, Feb., aged 53. President of Wellesley College, 1881-87. Dean of Woman's Department of Chicago University, 1892.

Palmer, Samuel, at Hamstead, Eng., April 9, aged 83. English manufacturer and philanthropist.

Pond, Major James Burton, at Jersey City, June 21, aged 65. Manager of lecture bureau in America.

Pope Leo XIII., at the Vatican, July 20, aged 93. Born at Carpineto, Mar. 2, 1810, the younger son of Count Ludovico Pecci. Ordained priest, 1837. Papal delegate to the province of Benevento, 1838. Governor of Perugia, 1841. Archbishop of Damietta and Papal Nuncio at Brussels, 1843. Bishop of Perugia, 1845. Created Cardinal, 1853. Elected Pope, Feb. 7, 1878. Celebrated sacerdotal jubilee, 1887; the "Holy Year" jubilee, 1900; papal jubilee, 1903.

Richmond, the Duke of, at Gordon Castle, Sept. 27, aged 85. Aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, 1842-52. President of the Board of Trade, 1867. Leader of Conservatives in the House of Lords, 1869. Made Duke of Gordon, 1876. First Sec. for Scotland, 1885.

Ritchie, Dr. David George, Feb. 3. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in St. Andrew's University, Scotland. Author: "Darwinism and Politics."

Ross, John, March, aged 86. Pioneer Australian bushman and explorer.

Robson, Stuart, at New York, April 29, aged 67. Popular American comedian.

Sagasta, Señor Praxedes Mateo, at Madrid, Jan. 5, aged 75. Most prominent Spanish statesman of his time. Entered the Cortès at 1854 as a member of the Progressist party. Exiled in 1886 for his share in the insurrection against Queen Isabella. Recalled as Minister of the Interior during the interregnum following her dethronement. Accepted the Constitutional Monarchy after the re-establishment of the dynasty in the person of Alfonso XIII. Became leader of the Liberal opposition. Prime Minister 1881-3; 1885-90; 1893-5; 1897-9; 1901-2; resigned, Dec., 1902.

Salisbury, the Marquis of, at Hatfield House, Aug. 22, aged 73. Born Robert Cecil, at Hatfield, Feb. 3, 1830. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Elected Conservative M.P., 1853. Became Viscount Cranbourne, 1865, and Marquis of Salisbury, 1868. Twice Secretary for India, 1866, 1874. Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1869. Represented England at the Conference of Constantinople 1876. Twice Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 1878, 1885. Participated in the "peace with honor" at the Berlin Congress, 1878. Leader of Opposition in House of Lords, 1881. Three times Prime Minister, 1885, 1886, 1895; resigned, July 11, 1902.

Sanderson, Mme. Sybil, American opera singer, at Paris, May 16, aged 39.

Scott, Hugh Stowell ("Henry Seton Merriman"), Nov. 19, aged 40. English novelist. Author: "With Edged Tools," "The Sowers," "Roden's Corner," "The Isle of Unrest," "Barlasch of the Guard."

Simmons, Field-Marshal Sir J. L., Feb. 14. Famous for his services in the Crimean War. British Commissioner for regulating the Russo-Turkish boundary, 1857. Governor of the Royal Military Academy, 1869-75. Governor of Malta 1884-8.

Spencer, Herbert, at Brighton, Eng., Dec. 8, aged 83. Scientist and philosopher. Author: "Principles of Psychology," "Principles of Biology," "Principles of Sociology," "Progress: Its Law and Cause," "Data of Ethics," "Cereemonial Institutions," "Justice," "Facts and Comments."

Stokes, Sir George Gabriel, at Cambridge, Eng., Feb. 1, aged 83. Distinguished mathematician and scientist. President of Royal Society, 1885-90. Represented Cambridge University in Parliament, 1887-92.

Storm, Gustav, Feb. 22, aged 57. Noted Norwegian Historian.

Thorsen, Anna M., at Copenhagen, March 28, aged 84. Distinguished Norwegian novelist and dramatist.

Tokutaro, Ozakai ("Koyo Sanju"), Dec. Jananese novelist, founder of the modern school of fiction in Japan.

Trumbull, Dr. Henry Clay, Dec. 8, aged 73. Editor-in-chief of *Sunday-School Times*, 1875-1903. Noted in the field of Biblical research and as an exponent of the new theology.

Vaughn, Cardinal, June 19. Ordained priest, 1885. Bishop of Salford, 1872. Appointed to succeed Cardinal Manning as Archbishop of Westminster, 1892. Created Cardinal, 1895. Influential in the issue of Pope Leo's Bull on the Anglican Orders, and in the building of the Cathedral at Westminster.

Von Rieger, Dr. Baron **Ladislaus**, at Prague, March 3, aged 85. Founder and leader of the Old Czech party in Bohemia. Member of Austrian Reich-rath, 1896.

Wehinger, Father, Sept. 6, aged 39. Austrian priest, founder and head of St. John's Leper Asylum, Mandalay.

Whistler, **James McNeill**, at Chelsea, Eng., July 17, aged 70. Painter and etcher. Born at Lowell, Mass., educated at West Point. Began artistic career in Paris, 1859. Exhibited at the English Royal Academy, 1865-72; at the Grovesnor Gallery, 1877-1903. Won libel suit against Ruskin, 1878. Most famous paintings: "Portrait of My Mother," "Portrait of Carlyle," "Carmencita," "Symphony in White."

Zanardelli, Signor **Guiseppe**, at Maderno, Italy, Dec. 26, aged 75. Italian statesman. An advanced Liberal member of the Chamber for many years. Minister of Public Works, 1876. Minister of the Interior, 1878. Minister of Justice, 1880-3, 1887-91. President of the Chamber, 1893. Prime Minister, 1901-1903.

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